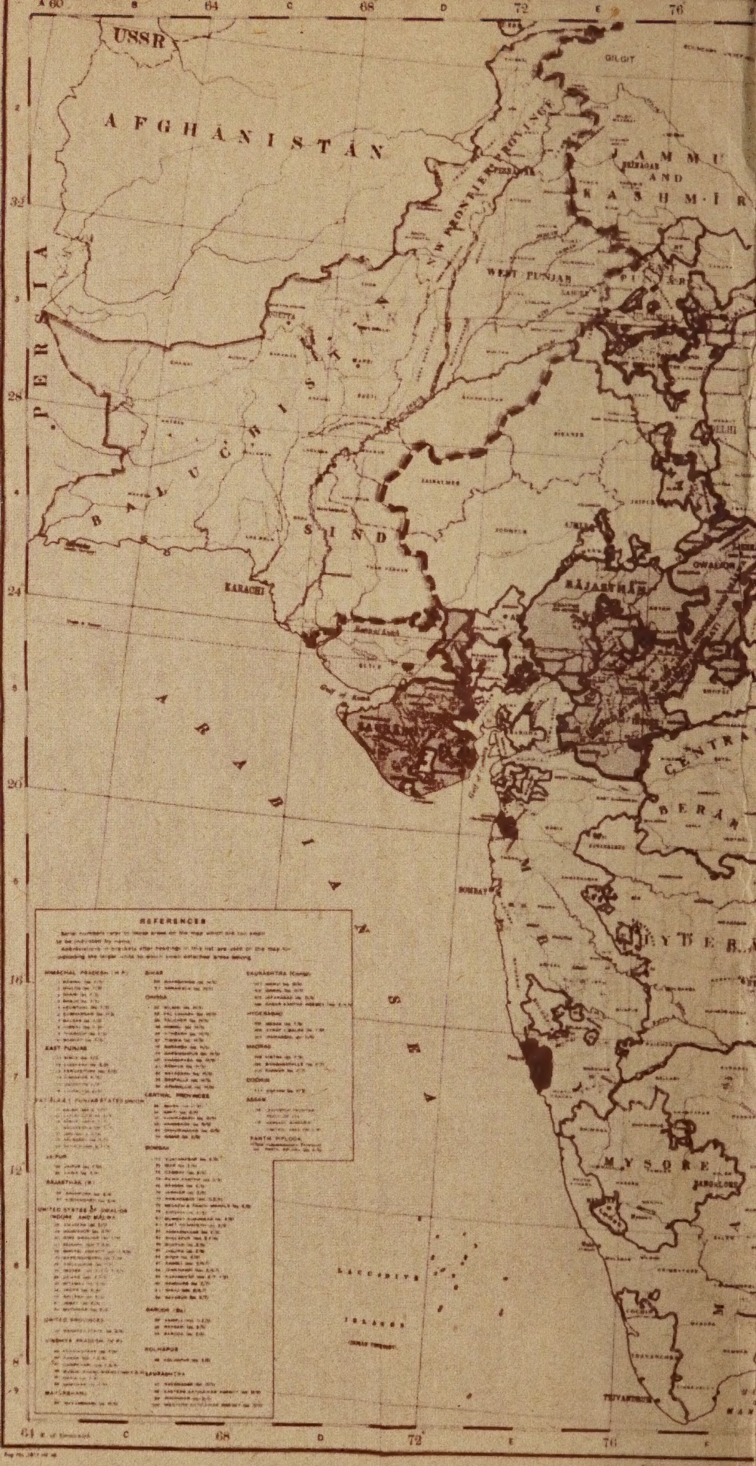
EDUCATION IN INDIA

ZELLNER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HYDERABAD
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BANGALORE
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
TRIVANDRUM
REFERENCES
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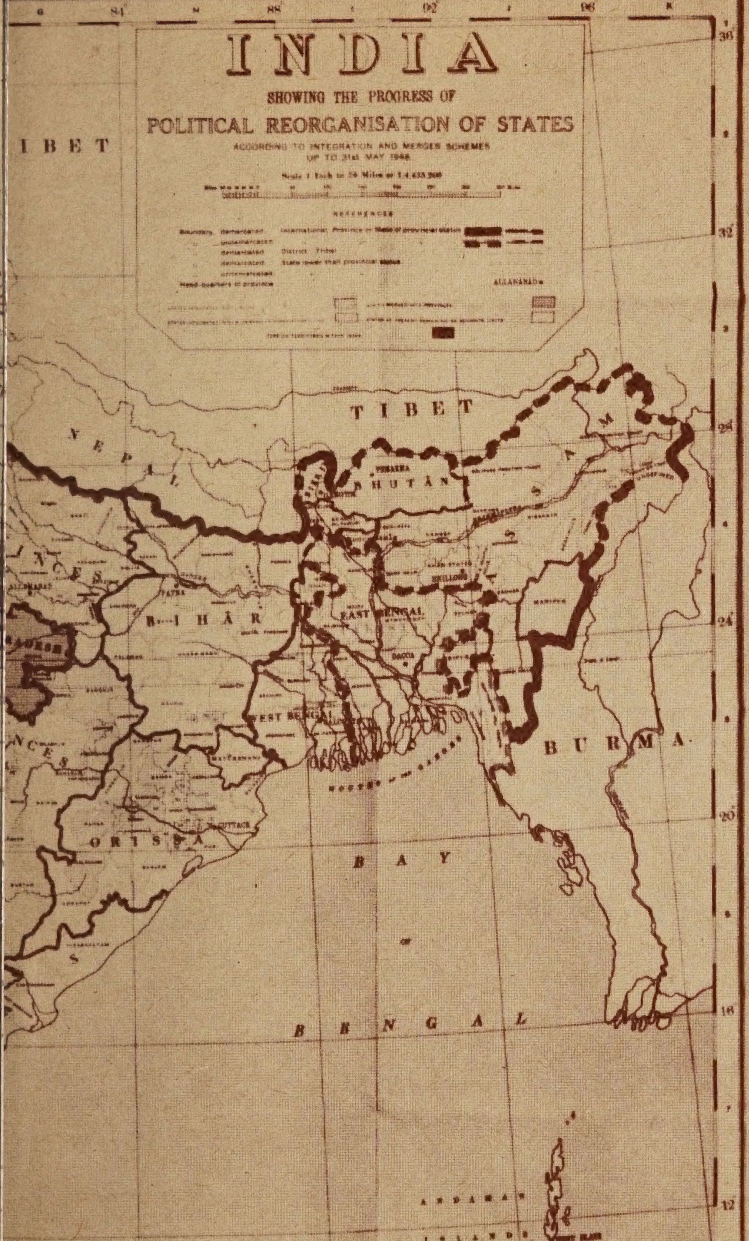
INDIA
SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF
POLITICAL REORGANISATION OF STATES
ACCORDING TO INTEGRATION AND MERGER SCHEMES
UP TO 31st MAY 1948
Scale 1 Inch to 20 Miles or 1:4,435,200
REFERENCES
Boundary, demarcated
undemarcated
demarcated
demarcated
undemarcated
Head-quarters of province
International, Province or State of provincial status
District, Tribal
State lower than provincial status
ALLAHABAD
TIBET
NEPAL
BHUTAN
ASSAM
BIHAR
PATNA
EAST BENGAL
DACCA
SHILLONG
MANIPUR
WEST BENGAL
BURMA
ORISSA
CUTTACK
BAY
OF
BENGAL
ANDAMAN
ISLANDS
PORT BLAIR
NICOBAR
ISLANDS
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EDUCATION IN INDIA

A Survey of the Lower Ganges Valley In Modern Times

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FOREWORD

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY of education in India, with full documentation and references to source materials, has not yet been attempted. An effort of this kind will probably extend to several volumes because the history and development of Indian education present such variety, and because at no time was there a uniform pattern of educational theory and practice for the whole of India. The indigenous systems of education from very ancient times differed from one another on a territorial basis as well as in their cultural patterns. The ancient and medieval centers of learning in India grew up in a variety of ways in different parts of the Indian sub-continent. Hindu *Parishads* and Mohammedan *Madrassahs* flourished for about five centuries side by side, each catering to the needs of its own cultural group. Sanskrit and Arabic were the principal classical languages, and the education of the élite was mainly confined to the traditional pattern, embracing theology, rhetoric, grammar, natural philosophy, law, astronomy, and mathematics. Popular education, as distinct from the education of the élite, was restricted mainly to the requirements of an agricultural economy, and was imparted through the medium of about twenty regional languages and their innumerable dialects. In her long history, there has been no uniform pattern of education in India and, at any rate, no public system of education in the modern sense of the term.

From the latter half of the seventeenth century, with the advent of the European Powers in India, the indigenous systems of education in different parts of the country began to languish and were not replaced by progressive methods of imparting universal education under State responsibility. Education in India remained a luxury commodity available only to those who had the leisure to pursue it and the ability to pay for it.

The study made by Dr. Aubrey Zellner in this book covers a period of ninety years, from 1858, when Britain assumed responsibility for the welfare of her Indian Empire, up to 1947, when Britain relinquished this responsibility. It will be obvious to anyone who reads the educational documents of this period that the Government of Great Britain in India did not accept full responsibility for the education of the people it governed. At the beginning of the present century, it was stated that the percentage of literacy in India was only about 6 per cent, and that only one boy out of every five of school age was at school. It was also stated by a leading missionary-educator that in the year 1900 only three girls out of every hundred of school age were enrolled in any school. When England passed the Compulsory Education Act in 1870, she was in complete possession of her Indian Empire, but it never occurred to the rulers of India that what was necessary for the children of England was also essential for the children of India. It was in the year 1911 that a great Indian statesman and educator, Mr. Gokhale, brought forward a bill before the Legislature in India urging the Government to introduce the principle of compulsory education of all children. This bill was defeated in the Legislature, composed of an official majority, on the ground that any measure of compulsion would be repugnant to Indian sentiment.

India today is faced with the challenge of making education available to all her citizens; the State can no longer divest itself of this responsibility. In Chapter X, entitled "A Charter for the Future," Dr. Zellner presents many suggestions as to both short-term and long-term policies to be instituted in the rapid expansion of education opportunities for the future. Universal compulsory primary education for the whole of India has been accepted as a charter for the future. In order to bring all children between the ages of six and fourteen under a universal system of education, India will need 1,600,000 teachers, and of these, 50 per cent should be women teachers for the lower grades of elementary education. Despite every effort made in the last few years to expand teacher-training facilities, we have reached only the total of 500,000 active teachers of all categories, and the progress of education will therefore depend mainly on the availability and rapid recruitment of personnel for the teaching profession. During the last four years, every State in India has focused its attention on education, but it must be admitted that the very nature of the problem is such that progress cannot be spectacular. The growth of education is essentially a slow growth, and the speed with which it can take place is not necessarily the sole test of success. There is an old Chinese proverb which reads, "If you are planning for one year, plant grain; if you are planning for ten years, plant trees; if you are planning for a hundred years, plant men."

Dr. Zellner's well-documented study of educational thought and progress in the Lower Ganges Area is a welcome addition to the few authentic books on Indian education, and I am confident it will serve as a valuable document in revealing to the general reader the reasons for the many lost opportunities in the past and the necessity for a new optimism in building up the future of education in India.

M. S. SUNDARAM
First Secretary, Education Department
Embassy of India

PREFACE

An area study of education in India is timely. Today, the fact that India is at the threshold of a new era makes an evaluation of her past development important. With her newly acquired independence from Britain, India must face many problems. Education is not the least of these in a country where literacy is scarcely twelve per cent.

In the main, Indian education divides itself into three large periods: education before the coming of the British; education under the British; education after the British in a modern, independent India. The latter is in the making. The future pattern will demand judicious planning and courageous leadership if India is to take her place with the nations of the world that are her peers in population and land area.

This present history is concerned with the area of the Lower Ganges River Valley. Properly speaking, it may be referred to as the Bengal Presidency. As is indicated in the proper places, its boundaries changed several times during the period covered by this study. However, as a whole, the land area of Bengal was quite consistent. This is especially true from 1912 to 1947.

The Province of Bengal stands out as important because it was in that Presidency that the British set up the central government and maintained its offices until 1912. In that year they moved the capital from Calcutta to New Delhi.

Throughout the history of modern India, Bengal provided the stimulus for new developments in the educational pattern time and again. As to population, this province was always definitely representative of the major communal groups in India. Hindus and Moslems made up an almost equal proportion.

Documents on Indian education compiled during the last ninety years abound. These, however, have to be critically evaluated, or conclusions based on them will give a false impression. Actual practice is not always reflected. Recommendations and official resolutions did not always take effect. Paper versus practice is an old, sad story in education the world over. "The weakness of educational reform is that too much of it is verbal only, as any publisher of textbooks will in his confidential moments admit. Men alter words and think they have changed things."[1]

Among the documents mentioned above, government reports and surveys are numerous. Even Indians will admit that they are most valuable, although at times they are not as complimentary as they themselves would wish. Most of these reports were prepared by British and Indian non-political groups.

In examining the literature on the subject of education in the sub-continent of India as a whole, and also studies of particular areas, the investigator is struck by the fact that most of it is rather old. Therefore, it contributes little to the study of the development of modern trends.

Mahmood's study[2] is mostly concerned with Moslems; Stark's study[3] is narrowed to vernacular education; Chinnappa's study[4] is evidently Indian-slanted, as is that of Bose,[5] although the latter is not primarily concerned with education. Pandya's study of Baroda,[6] Andrews' study of Bombay,[7] Lewison's study of Assam[8] and Satthianadhan's study of Madras[9] are valuable for contrasts to the pattern in Bengal. Commendable studies on Indian education and nationalism like that of Shah[10] and Vickland[11] are helpful but they too suffer from age, considering the developments of the last twenty years.

It becomes evident that there is a lack of critical histories of education in modern India. Perhaps the best and most recent is *A History of Education in India During the British Period.*[12] The latter is a good compilation of extracts from government documents, but there is an emphasis on the pattern of Bombay Province rather than on that of the whole of India. The collaborating writers, Nurullah and Naik, have held prominent educational positions in Bombay, and, evidently, are chiefly familiar with that province. Then, too, the sole source cited in their description of missionary influence on the educational pattern is definitely a biased one.[13]

Perhaps an American has an advantage when he writes on Indian education. Most works on education in India have been done either by British or Indian partisans. The British tend to justify government policy and excuse faults in the system of education. The Indians, on the other hand, have a penchant for blaming the British. Sometimes they attribute indigenous evils to the intruding Westerners. An American may have some bias in favor of democratic education, but he has a good chance of maintaining an objective point of view if only for the reason that his own country was not directly involved in India's problems.

The present writer spent almost three years in India during the last war on duty with American air forces. He traveled much in India by air and by rail, but spent most of his tour of duty right in the Ganges River area which is the subject of the present study. He made it a point to establish contacts with prominent Indians and European leaders and gathered much data right on the ground. He maintained an extensive correspondence with people in India after his return to this country. Through these people, he kept abreast of recent reports and trends in educational policies.

In February of 1947, the writer completed a Master's thesis on *Backgrounds for a Study of Education in the Lower Ganges River Valley of India* at the State University of Iowa. During the summer of that same year, he concentrated on the study of ancient and modern Indian culture under prominent In-

and the secondary levels in the government school system. Specialized areas, such as university education, missionary schools, Moslem education, vocational education, and even female education, are important enough to warrant separate studies. The latter are discussed as each appears significant in the development of a characteristic pattern of education as it unfolds itself through the last ninety years in the Lower Ganges River Valley area of India.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE WRITER WISHES to express appreciation to Dr. Arthur H. Moehlman of the College of Education in the State University of Iowa for kindly criticism and constant encouragement.

Sincere thanks are due to many Indians, Europeans, and Americans who know India and have aided the writer. However, particular thanks are due to three Indians: Paul Ramaseshan and Rukmini Krishnaswamy of Madras, and Ranjana Sidhanta of Lucknow. Their advice on data sources and manuscript organization was invaluable.

A debt of gratitude is due Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, President of St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, who advised and encouraged the writer during his years of graduate studies.

CONTENTS

Foreword vii

Preface xi

Acknowledgments xvii

Working Glossary of Some Indian Terms xxv

Chapter One: Introduction 27

Chapter Two: Education Under the British in Bengal Before the Proclamation of the Empire in 1858 43

Chapter Three: Education in the New Empire from 1858 to the Commission of 1882 68

Chapter Four: Education from the Commission of 1882 to the Reforms of Curzon at the Turn of the Century 86

Chapter Five: Education from Curzon in 1899 to the Durbar of 1912 and the Moving of India's Capital 103

Chapter Six: Education in Bengal from the Durbar of 1912 to the Dyarchy Government of 1921 122

Chapter Seven: Education in the Lower Ganges from the Dyarchy of 1921 to the Beginning of India's Part in World War II as an Ally in 1939 149

Chapter Eight: Education in the Lower Ganges Through World War II and After 177

Chapter Nine: Education in the Lower Ganges River Area of India: A Retrospect 200

Chapter Ten: A Charter for the Future 208

Notes 229

Bibliography 255

Index 268

ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations insert will be found following page 224.

A student of architecture at Santiniketan Education Institution, Bengal. Santiniketan, "the Home of Peace," is the realization of a poet's dream. Here Rabindranath Tagore founded a school and university to put his educational ideas into practice.

An Indian village boy practices his writing.

A class to teach adult villagers to read and write.

Many Indian schools have adopted the modern approach to education, making lessons more interesting for youngsters.

"Playway" method in a Punjab village school. Practical handicrafts such as wickerwork are taught in an up-to-date village school.

Pupils in Victoria Institution, one of the oldest girls' schools in Bengal.

Rural education in the Moradabad district: an adult night school.

A typical village school where handicrafts are taught in addition to the "Three R's."

WORKING GLOSSARY

OF SOME INDIAN TERMS

Anna–Indian coin, worth about two cents.
Bengali–A native of Bengal; also the language spoken there.
Crore–10,000,000 rupees, written 1,00,00,000
Durbar (Darbar)–Formal reception for a potentate.
Deccan–Area of India south of Narbada and Kistna Rivers.
Guru–Hindu teacher.
Hindi–Dialect spoken in central and northern India, written with Sanskrit characters.
Hindu–Adherent of Hinduism properly so called.
Lakh (Lac)–100,000 rupees, written 1,00,000
Madrassah–Moslem upper school.
Mahasabbha–Radical Hindu Party.
Maktab–Moslem lower school.
Marwari–Moneylenders.
Maulvi Musllim–Moslem teacher.
Moslem (Muslin, Mohammedan)–Follower of Mohammed and his teaching in the Koran.
Moghul–Moslem; in more restricted sense, Mongol conqueror.
Mufassel (Mofussil)–Rural areas.
Pandit (Pundit)–Title of respect bestowed on learned Hindus.
Patshalas–Lower Hindu schools.
Rupee–Indian coin or paper money, formerly worth about thirty-two cents.
Ryot Raiyat–Indian peasant.
Sanskrit–Ancient Aryan language of the Hindus.
Swaraj–Autonomy.
Tol–Sanskrit school or college.
Urdu–Variant of Hindi written with Arabic characters, sometimes referred to as Hindustani.
Zamindars–Landowners, tax-collectors.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The time span of this study of education in India under the British is definitely not arbitrary. The period enclosed by the years 1858 and 1948 comprises a unit. Before this period began, however, educational effort was not entirely absent. The earlier years under the British in India might well be classed as an age of great educational pioneers.[1] When Queen Victoria proclaimed the Empire of India as an answer to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, an elaborate machinery was set up to control governmental operation and to promote education as one phase. The East India Company was out.[2] From the time of Clive's successes in the late eighteenth century, that trading company had controlled India. It had given free scope to individual effort in education. Now, with the creation of the Empire, all educational efforts were planned by the government. Nevertheless, India will always owe a debt to pioneering educators like Charles Grant, Ram Mohun Roy, David Hare, Alexander Duff, Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, James Thomason, William Adam and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.[3]

Granted that the period of time under question constitutes a unit, the student of education must recognize the fact that no era can be accurately considered independently of preceding eras. Openly and formally before the world, the Government of India in 1858 accepted responsibility for the educational pattern of India as part of the duties of governing. However, many policies of education had already been formulated and followed. The trials and errors of the past were in the records. Thinking and responsible government officials were determined to profit by past mistakes. They were also determined to utilize what had been tried and found practicable.

It was but natural that the pattern of education adopted in India after 1858 should take on the mold of the past. The factors that influenced education in India decades before had not changed entirely. The people and the land were the same. Political, social, and economic forces continued as ferments and catalysts.

The Lower Ganges River Valley Area

The Lower Ganges River Valley, for the most part, is synonymous with the province of Bengal. Some broad discussion of the geography of Bengal is necessary as a background for this present study of education.[4] The political scene has always been a most potent factor in the education of India, but land forms, climate, and produce have wielded an influence. Later chapters deal with the impact of these factors on the educational pattern as a whole.

Bengal can be likened to a huge triangle of river-washed land. The upper point of the province extends into the towering Himalayas. From this extreme northern point to the base of our hypothetical triangle, the distance is about 350 miles. The base of the province looks out over the Bay of Bengal.

In the east-west direction, the region narrows down to 140 miles between the Garo and the Rajmahal hills, and then widens to 300 miles in the latitudes of the famous city of the ancient "Black Hole Tragedy"[5] which is called Calcutta[6] today.

Bengal, itself, including a few native states, covers approximately 78,000 square miles.[7] Most of this is on a level. The province forms a delta—perhaps the largest in the world. This delta has been formed by the holy Ganges River which flows down from the northwest through the present-day province of Bihar. The Ganges has some help from the branches of the Brahmaputra River, which flows down from the mountains through the province of Assam to the northeast.

The symmetry of the whole triangular area of Bengal is striking. It is an area made up of a combination of rivers and land. During the monsoons,[8] the passenger in a plane crossing the area may well wonder whether he is flying over land or water.

The province of Bengal is unique in many ways. Perhaps no other area of that size in the world is more homogeneous in types of soil, climate, and use of the land. Even the race and language of Bengal are uniquely homogeneous. On the other hand India in general is a mixture.

The whole region of Bengal is a flood plain of the rivers mentioned above. Large areas are inundated by the October and November floods. Roads and railroads often suffer serious damage. Thousands of people drown. A sense of insecurity harasses many. Countless natural distributaries and artificial canals intersect the plains. This is especially the case in areas bordering the coast of the Bay of Bengal.

The three inland border sections of Bengal are slightly higher than the middle. These are, in order, Chota Nagpur in the west, the Barind hills to the north, and the Madhupur area in the Surma valley in the east. Each of the upland areas is well covered with scrub jungle, and the hilltops are little used by the people. Elsewhere, the river plains are less than fifty feet above sea level. The floods shift considerably each season, but the old delta on the west is less apt to be flooded than the new and actively growing delta on the east. As is to be expected in a level area, the river courses change from season to season, and often during the seasons.

The river-mouth area, if one may speak of such in the lower Ganges, is referred to as the Sundarbans. It is intricately cut up by tidal channels and covered with mangrove forests. Conditions in the Mahanadi delta area are similar. The latter is further to the east. (Our hypothetical triangle continues to be the basis for this description.) Between the two lower deltas are coastal sand dunes.

Sir Dudley Stamp[9] says that if one chooses to dissect the Bengal Province as set up by the British in 1912 he will find that it naturally falls into three sub-regions. He refers to the North Bengal regions as the Ganges-Brahmaputra Doab (a tract of land between two rivers). This area stretches from the Terai country on the north to the Ganges River on the south.

To the northeast is the narrow Brahmaputra or Assam valley through which the American and British forces moved practically all their supplies for Burma and China during the last war.

To the west is the Broad Ganges area. The land is watered by streams flowing down the huge Himalaya mountains. In the wet season, these streams become torrents and frequently change their courses as noted above, but in the dry season these river beds are practically waterless.

Central and Western Bengal make up the so-called Old Delta. It is evident that the great delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra has moved gradually from the west to the east through the years. Now, Central Bengal is a land of dead and dying rivers. The waters of the Ganges, with loads of fertile silt, no longer pass through the numerous channels. Large swamps take the place of flowing waters. Many of these have been drained and form valuable rice land which is so badly needed to support the teeming millions who populate the area. The rest are mosquito-breeding swamps. It is obvious that health education deserves an emphasis in Bengal.

To the west, the land rises gradually and forms hard and poor soil covered with scrub jungle. Here are the coal deposits of places like Raniganj, Asansol and Jherria.

The third section is appropriately termed the New Delta. Here the great rivers are still actively building up their deltas.

Every year huge quantities of silt are brought down by the Ganges and the branches of the Brahmaputra. Like the ancient Nile Valley, in high-water season a great part of the area is flooded and the rich deposit of silt is spread over the country. It is a typical delta region and is covered by a network of rivers, streams, and creeks. For a time, in many areas, the "goinas," or river boats, must take the place of road and even railroad transportation.

In this region one speaks of monsoons and not mere rainstorms. Rain falls chiefly during the period of the summer monsoon, and therefore at the time of the greatest heat and plant growth. Records taken at Calcutta disclose the fact that sixty per cent of the total rainfall occurs during the three summer months of June, July, and August.

Abundant rainfall in this area of low relief causes considerable inundation of the land during the rainy season and even in winter (if one may speak of winter on the plains of India) many of the lower lands remain water-logged. The rainfall increases from the west to the east. Calcutta has 60 inches of rain per year. Dacca to the east has 73, Sylhet which is about a hundred miles further east has 160 inches. Cherrapungi in the Khasi State bordering Bengal averages 451.6 inches of rain per year.[10]

Summary reference must be made to the resources of Bengal because any complete educational program includes provision for vocational training. When one starts to consider the produce of Bengal, he is compelled to mention rice first. It is what keeps the people alive. It is their staple diet. The populace is so dependent on rice that one crop failure causes thousands and even millions to die of starvation.

About eighty-seven per cent of the cultivated land in Bengal is used for rice. That includes about 23 million acres in all.[11] The rice reaches its maximum development in the hot and moist climate of Bengal. It is especially favored in areas where level lowlands and the inundation of the cultivated soil prevail.

Bengal produces some tea, cotton, tobacco, sugar, and grain as well.

Jute is an important product of Bengal. It does not help feed the people, of course, but its production gives them work. This part of India practically enjoys a world monopoly in the production of this commodity which is used to make so many kinds of bagging material and heavy curtains. Eastern Bengal produces almost the entire crop. Cressey[12] says that from 1928 to 1932 India exported 234 million dollars worth of jute. For a long time only raw jute was exported, but, in spite of the British in some cases, and in co-operation with the British in other cases, the Indians themselves have begun to manufacture jute goods by machinery to supply world markets.

There are large reserve beds of bituminous coal in Bengal. Yet, in spite of a vast supply, the coal for fuel is not a significant item. What is produced is used by the Indians themselves.

Near Asansol on the west, and near Kulti in the same area, there is pig iron. At Jamshedpur, which is a hundred and fifty-five miles west of Calcutta, one finds a huge steel mill. Production was begun there in 1911. Today that city holds an important place among the steel centers of the world.

Transportation in Bengal has progressed through the years. The facilities for travel are fair in spite of rains and floods. There are many hundreds of miles of railroads. These are far from adequate, but post-war rehabilitation plans, if carried through, will be a boon to transportation in Bengal and in the whole of India. Perhaps the best and most up-to-date survey of the vital economic factors in modern India, including transportation and communications, is presented in the General Motors Overseas Operations Report of 1945.[13]

Roads provide a means of transportation in the Lower Ganges too. Some are macadam-covered, but most of them are just dirt roads. The survey just quoted above[14] says that there is a mile of road to each 4.6 square miles of area in India. There is heavy pressure on the existing roads because about 1,580 people must use every mile of the motorable roads. The big highway in India is the Grand Trunk, which runs from Calcutta to New Delhi, and then to the north, straight to the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan. It has been referred to as the Akbar Road, since it is believed that Akbar, the great Moghul ruler of the seventeenth century, improved and widened the highway for military purposes.

Among the principal cities of Bengal, Calcutta deserves first mention. This city dominates eastern India and in 1941 was rated the second largest city in the British Empire. At the time, the population of Calcutta was two and a half million. If anything, it has increased considerably since. The city lies on the outside of a bend on the eastern bank of the Hooghly River, which is part of the Ganges system. It pours into the Bay of Bengal, as do all the rivers in the province.

Calcutta is one of the leading ports of the Orient. It was the capital of India until the great Durbar, or formal reception of King George V in 1912. Then the capital was moved to New Delhi. Calcutta is still the great commercial capital, and in order to take care of her huge volume of traffic, the city has been provided with all the facilities commonly found in a first-class port.

Chittagong is a good port to the east near the Burma border. It is the terminus of a narrow-gauge railway serving the jute and tea districts, and it has a flourishing traffic. The tea gardens, for the most part, are in the province of Assam. Yet, the famous Darjeeling tea comes from the hills in North Bengal.

A few hundred miles up the branches of the lower Brahmaputra River directly north of Chittagong, is the old provincial capital, Dacca. At one time it was a Moslem stronghold and a flourishing city. It has gone down, but even today, centered in the jute country, it ships tons and tons of raw material to Calcutta and other places for manufacture and export. In 1941 its population was listed as 213,000. On the outskirts, one can still recognize the crumbling ruins that housed the once-great rulers of the Moghul kingdom a few centuries before.

With the descriptions of Calcutta and Chittagong and Dacca one might as well stop, because the Lower Ganges River Valley is no exception to the general pattern of the sub-continent, India. India is a land of villages, 700,000 of them. They comprise ninety per cent of the whole population.

The People of the Lower Ganges Area

The people of the Lower Ganges River area today are the result of a long process of amalgamation that has gone on through the centuries. What data is available is presented here to describe the inhabitant of Bengal, the Bengali. In the last part of this section, there is a discussion of the nature of the Bengali student, based on the findings of the Calcutta University Commission of 1919.[15]

In the Bengal Delta plain, as the Lower Ganges is sometimes described, one finds about 60 million people. Approximate figures show that this is about 780 people per square mile.[16] Compare that with 45 people per square mile in the Mississippi delta of this country, and the contrast to the United States is evident. There is a definite parity of land form in Bengal. By far the greatest number of the whole populace lives in the rural plains as was pointed out above. This is an important point as far as educational policies are concerned. When the urban population is a minority, a rural education program is vital. In the whole province of Bengal, with more than 60 million inhabitants, there are but six towns with over 50,000 people. Between the two World Wars the population of the Lower Ganges increased by more than 10 million.

There is a marked uniformity of population in the region under consideration. The people are practically all Bengalis, and the vast majority of them speak Bengali as their native tongue. One of the greatest of modern poets, Rabindranath Tagore, has made the region and the language of Bengal famous. (Tagore's immediate influence on education will bear special consideration in a later chapter.) Lest an inaccurate conclusion be drawn, the reader is reminded that the British have been in this area for several centuries. The English language is far from being unknown, and a traveller has little trouble making himself understood. In their classical studies and scriptures, the Hindus prefer Sanskrit, but the Moslems use Persian and Arabic. Where necessary, in later chapters, other pertinent language influences will be discussed. Now, some description must be given of the origin of the slight, fine-featured, dark-skinned Bengali.

To really understand the people of Bengal, one should go back to the beginnings of that civilization in the Lower Ganges area. That would be too ambitious a plan for this study. Furthermore, the investigator all too soon arrives at a period when all authentic accounts cease.

This is known: "The drama of Indian history is one in which many people of very diverse origin have played their parts. In all ages the fertility and the riches of certain regions, above all the plain of the Ganges, have attracted invaders from the outside world; while overpopulation and the desiccation of the land have given an impulse to the movements of the peoples from the adjacent regions of Asia."[17]

The history of India, and especially that of the Ganges River area, forms a parallel to that of the United States. There was a time when a new people took over. Foreign races and foreign civilizations came into ancient India. The history of the country, in a large measure, is the story of the struggle between the newcomers and the earlier inhabitants.

In much of the literature on India, the terms "Dravidian" and "Aryan" are commonly used, so a brief discussion of the terms is in place here.

The term "Dravidian" is often employed to designate all the cognate languages spoken by a single family group, without regard to differences of race among the groups speaking these tongues. Anthropologists apply the term to a group of races characterized by common physical features who are chiefly inhabitants of India, and for the most part use languages which are variants of Dravidian speech.

One of the theories is summed up by Barnett: "At some very early date, several millennia before the Christian era, the greater part of India was inhabited by a dark negroid race of low culture characterized more or less by the physical features now known as 'Dravidian.' This early people, however, should be properly termed *pre-Dravidian.* In the course of time another race, higher in culture and speaking a language of Scythian affinities, from which are derived the tongues now known as 'Dravidian,' gradually made its way from the north, probably through Baluchistan into the plain of the Indus, and thence ultimately passed down into the regions south of Vindhya. This race may be called the *proto-Dravidians.* Wherever it came, it mixed its blood to a greater or less degree with that of the earlier inhabitants. From this combination have arisen the Dravidians of history, who have preserved few traces of the physical characteristics of the *proto-Dravidians*, whatever those may have been."[18]

The above is a rather simplified discussion of the early race movements in India. The reader can well suspect what a wealth of weird speculation and imaginative writing is available on the subject.

The aboriginals who were not assimilated by the invading Aryans have moved to hill districts and isolated areas in Bengal as well as in other provinces of India. Here is another parallel with the United States, where the American Indian is a dying race relegated to reservations.

Who were the Aryans? A popular view[19] tries to locate their origin as being in the southern steppes of Russia, in the Iranian plateau. Authoritative works seem to support this. Hunter's work[20] is most interesting reading on the subject, and Oppert's work, written about the same time, is very informative too.[21]

The theory that the Aryans came from the Iranian plateau is based on philological considerations, derived from a study of the development and variation of the languages spoken by these peoples. Precisely when the migrations took place is not known. Scholars disagree. There seems to be specific evidence for the supposition that by the fifteenth century before the advent of Christ, tribes of Aryan stock held influence over a wide area extending from northern Asia Minor over to Media. There appears little reason against assuming that even then the Aryans were pushing their way still further eastward through the gateway of the Khyber Pass, and initiating the great series of migration waves into India. The lush plains of Bengal along the Ganges River Valley undoubtedly attracted the forebears of the present-day inhabitants at an early date. River transport was not difficult except in the monsoon season, and the thousands of miles of navigable waterways of the Ganges beckoned the invaders.

Basing his contentions on evidence found in Hindu books, Hunter[22] emphasizes the distinctions between the Aryans and the non-Aryans, although he admits that the picture is by "an unfriendly hand." He shows how the new invaders looked upon the aboriginals as definitely inferior. In Aryan epics, these same aboriginals are described as the "monkey tribes," and sometimes referred to as demon inhabitants of the lower regions, and often as humans with serpents' tails and broad hoods representing the expanded neck of the dreaded cobra, a snake common to Bengal and other parts of India.

Further description of the origins of the races of Bengal is out of place here. Some comment must be made on religion, however, insofar as it influenced education.

Buddhism comes from India. Even though the Upper Ganges area (Gaya in Bihar) is the birthplace of that religion, it has little or no hold in India today. The Buddhist strength is now in Ceylon and Burma and parts of China. If Buddhism had survived in the Lower and Upper Ganges on a large scale, perhaps the educational pattern would be much different today. Buddhist monasteries and their schools do influence literacy figures. Next door to Bengal, Buddhist Burma far surpasses the general literacy rate of the Lower Ganges River Valley area.

The Hindu religion and the Moslem merit longer discussion because they have influenced and do influence the educational pattern in Bengal. Without going into a detailed exposition of the Hindu religion here, the writer must point out that the religious leaders of that sect not only encouraged old and new learning (and that includes the learning of Europe) but even insisted upon it at times. The fact that education was at a low ebb when the British came to India was not so much the fault of the Hindu religion, or even the stagnating system of caste (as some aver), but rather the series of invasions by conquerors.

The Moslems brought in a new religion, it is true, but they were not so great in numbers as to influence radically the blood of the races in the Lower Ganges region. They forced their new religion upon many, and created ardent converts who in turn proselytized others. The conversion was partly political and partly religious, therefore, and diplomats like the Moghul ruler, Akbar, encouraged intermarriage and conversion in order to increase their political power and stability. So, for the most part, the Moslems of Bengal today are converted Hindus rather than the direct descendants of the invaders that came into India after the turn of the eleventh century.

The Moslems have fallen behind the Hindus with regard to education in Bengal. Perhaps they were busy trying to maintain their empire and had little or no time to spend on formal education. In any case, a greater factor was that when Western learning came to the Lower Ganges and to the rest of India, the Moslems, in contrast to the Hindus, were either indifferent or inimical, because, following the dictates of their religious leaders, they felt bound to adhere faithfully to Persian as their medium, so that they could at least read, if not understand, the Koran of their holy founder, Mohammed. They were faced with a shortage of Moslem teachers, and yet they would not permit Hindus to teach their children as a remedy.[23] In later chapters, more is said about this problem as it developed and was dealt with through the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As a concluding comment, a Moslem writer deserves quotation: "While the Hindus were showing readiness, zeal and generosity towards the spread of English Education among their countrymen, even at such an early period (1814) the Moslems seem to have remained completely dormant and, indeed, took up a hostile attitude towards the progress of English Education among them."[24]

Just how can the inhabitant of Bengal be described? In 1797, Charles Grant, a prominent missionary in India, and later an outstanding member of Parliament in England, wrote:

"In Bengal, a man of real veracity and integrity is a great phenomenon; one conscientious in the whole of his conduct, it is to be feared, is an unknown character."[25]

To anyone who has some idea of the sordid record of many Englishmen of Clive's time in India, the harsh characterization of the people of Bengal by Grant sounds rather brazen. Either the people of Bengal have made a lot of progress after a hundred years, or the British have changed their opinion of these people. The following, based, for the most part, on the Calcutta University Commission Report of 1919,[26] will be an attempt to describe the Bengali student of that time. The Commission got its data through a questionnaire of considerable length sent out to 671 key educators. Replies were received from 412.[27]

Anyone who has lived in Bengal for any length of time will attribute to the Bengali a full share of keen intelligence and general ability. There are evidences of characteristic excellences, and also of directly related weaknesses.

To begin with the physical basis of his mental powers, it is fair to say that the Bengali as a rule possesses good powers of hearing and has a very retentive memory. The fact is that the ear and the memory have furnished the chief physical basis for the traditional learning of Bengal. The Calcutta Commission Report associates these factors with the practice of transmitting scholarly lore by oral tradition from time immemorial.[28]

There has been much discussion as to whether the Bengali is characteristically capable of practical or hand work. Tagore, who has been referred to before, knew Bengali boys intimately through his experimental school at Bolpur. Loyally, he assures us that they have a natural mechanical and manipulative dexterity.[29] The survey on agricultural problems made by Dr. Voelcker, Agricultural Chemist to the Royal Society of England when the latter was deputed to India in 1889, was definitely favorable to the Indians as being a practical people.[30]

Evaluation becomes difficult and questionable when one attempts to describe the emotional characteristics of the Bengali student. However, the data given here is based on the Calcutta Commission findings which Percy Dumbell of the India Office in London considered worth including in his selected documents from British state papers.[31]

The Bengali can be said to be very sensitive by nature—far more sensitive than the average American can readily understand. The Bengali is instantly aware of sympathy or dislike, of welcome or coldness, of approval or blame. As a result, on the unfavorable side, the Bengali is prone to quick discouragement, is sensitive to ridicule, resents sarcasm, and is liable to show conceit, although the latter may often be just an appearance of conceit and really due to the sting of having his self-esteem wounded.

In his favor, the Bengali student is affectionate, quickly responsive to kindness, courteous and polite. The writer recognizes that these are characteristics that are difficult to ascribe to a given race. However, the Calcutta Commission Report points out, guardedly, the strong influences of life in a Hindu or in a Moslem home as a partial explanation.[32]

Not unrelated to the qualities described above is the Bengali's lively appreciation of beauty. A great number of modern artists and poets in India have come from the Lower Ganges. A feeling for rhythm and for harmony definitely characterizes the Bengali—especially the more gifted one.[33] In Bengal, there is much evidence of linguistic capacity. However, it would be difficult to show that this is not characteristic of the other peoples of India also.

From his own experiences, coupled with the comments of Belgian missionaries in the area, the writer would be willing to subscribe to the statement that the Bengali has an excellent sense of number but a defective sense of time. A more elaborate quotation from the Calcutta Commission Report is appropriate here:

> Aptitude for number is one of the strongest points in the intellectual equipment of many Bengali students, who share this gift with their fellow countrymen in other parts of India. Their skill in computation and in the symbolic operations of algebra shows that their natural sense of number is strong. On the other hand, their sense of time is defective. Even when things have happened before his eyes, a Bengali student is apt to be far off in his estimate of their duration in point of time. [Writer's comment: Many psychological experiments have shown American students are not much better off.] The unpunctuality in keeping engagements, which is often one of his noticeable characteristics, may well be due to casualness, but vagueness about time has something to do with it. . . . The Bengali student has a brilliant capacity for drawing other kinds of distinction . . . a love for abstraction and generalization.[34]

Some observers claim to detect in the Bengali a lack of capacity for complex coordination in the sphere of thought and of action. They contend that this defect is an impediment to the progress of the Bengali in the study of subjects like sociology and economics, and also in complex industrial undertakings.[35] This generalization has dubious validity. It is true that the Bengali has, as a rule, neglected municipal enterprise and commercial management. To ascribe this to nature rather than to the influence of education under the British demands more carefully collected evidence.

The Bengali girl deserves brief comment too. By nature she seems to have an instinct for order and for neatness. She has a natural grace of bearing, deftness of hand, and simplicity. These and other qualities of like nature are noted in the Calcutta Commission Report.[36]

In the course of discussing the pattern of education in the succeeding chapters, much more light is thrown on the nature and characteristics of the people. This brief introduction should give the average reader some grasp of the significant background for the history of education in Bengal that follows.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION UNDER THE BRITISH IN BENGAL BEFORE THE PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPIRE IN 1858

The Educational Scene Before 1800

The introductory chapter described the land, the people, and the period that serves as a background for this study. The present chapter attempts to provide the connecting link between the old indigenous pattern of education in India and the new pattern, with its particular trends, that began with the proclamation of the Empire in 1858. This section might be more specifically defined as a description of the early developments of education in India under the British.

It is rather difficult to separate the Bengal area from the rest of India with regard to the educational pattern of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, the old governmental reports describe Bengal just as well as the rest of India, if not more adequately, because educational surveys and measures attempted in Bengal were urged on other areas from the very beginning.[1]

The government, as it functioned in the early days, was represented by the East India Company, which had its headquarters in Calcutta in Bengal. As Mahmood says, "It is apparent that the earliest and greatest activity in the case of Public Instruction was evinced in Bengal not only by the Government but also by the people themselves."[2]

Howell, who is recognized as an authority on early education in India under the British, sums up the situation thus: "Education in India under the British Government was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous, and, finally, placed on its present footing (1854)."[3]

Definite views are maintained by writers who attempt to describe education in the early days under the British, especially if the writer is either an Indian or a British partisan. Perhaps Shah sums up the two poles: "The British educational policy in India is unintelligible except through its history. Seen thus, it affords the spectacle of a growth which, while to one it will appear as a blunder based on an initial error easily avoided, to another it stands out as a symbol of sincerity and honest endeavor on the part of the English whose aim has been to guide a people into the channels of thought and attitude best calculated to fit them for the needs of modern life and responsible government."[4]

As Shah points out, some knowledge of the history of the period is necessary in order to understand the educational pattern. One thing is evident from the start: "The first assertion that it was the duty of the English Government to communicate to her Indian subjects, by the channel of education, her own intellectual and moral conceptions, came not from statesmen and administrators but from religious reformers."[5]

Education was a nebulous thing in India as far as the British were concerned for almost two centuries after the granting of the Charter of the East India Company by Elizabeth in 1600. That was to be expected. The British who first came to India were traders primarily, and assumed little or no responsibility for the welfare of the people of that country.

For a time, rival companies were vying for a foothold in

India to carry on trade. Although the first settlement was at Surat on the west coast, the British interests were harassed by native princes, so the traders moved to Bengal. It was in 1690 that Job Charnock founded the settlement of Calcutta. Of course, it was a far cry from the metropolis of two and a half million that rules the Lower Ganges area today.

The French were busy too during this century. In 1664, the French East India Company had an official charter. Ten years later, the French had settlements at Pondicherry on the lower east coast, and also one at Chandanagar in Bengal.

In 1708, the rival British trade companies fused their interests. For a long time, the merchants of Britain held to their resolution to keep clear of politics and fighting. However, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a series of fights broke out between them and the French. The British fought hard to maintain their stand, and had many ups and downs in their battles with the French. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, was a power to reckon with for a time. The latter beat off the concentrated attack of the British at Pondicherry in 1748. In that same year, however, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in Europe proved that interests in India were but pawns in the settlement of British and French differences on the Continent. Dupleix was recalled to France in 1753. The British in India were not sorry; the field was clearing for them.

Clive is the principal figure associated with early British successes in India. There is evidence of a lot of underhanded dealing and bribery in the early days,[6] but the important fact is that, in 1757, at the battle of Plassey, a short distance north of Calcutta, Clive and his forces gained a decisive victory. This finally settled the issue of who was to be master in India. The Portuguese and Dutch had fallen behind long before. Now the French were beaten too.

The native princes tried to carry on the fight with the British, but in spite of the aid that the French were eager to give, Clive carried everything before him. He took Pondicherry in 1761. In 1765, he was appointed governor-general. He was the first to hold such an office in India, and he established his headquarters in Bengal.

Since 1599, there had been three settlements of note as far as the British were concerned: Calcutta, which was called Fort William; Madras, which was called Fort George; and Bombay.[7] When the rival trading companies united in 1708, the three presidencies were set up. Each was independent. However, in 1774, Warren Hastings was made governor-general, succeeding Clive who had left for Britain. A council was appointed to assist him. With the seat of the recognized government in Bengal in the Lower Ganges, that province achieved and maintained supremacy over the other two provinces that had colonial status. Bengal was to keep that position for a long time,[8] even after governors were appointed in Madras and Bombay in 1793.[9]

Maintenance of order was not an easy matter in the early days, and, as has been hinted before, many unscrupulous individuals tried to take advantage of the fluid situation in India. Pitt's India Act of 1784 set up some principles of operation and established a Board of Control. Charges and countercharges were made by officials, and, in 1785, Governor-general Hastings was impeached for gross corruption. His trial dragged on and on, but he was finally declared innocent in spite of all.

A figure well known to Americans took over as governor-general when Warren Hastings was recalled. He had been forced to surrender during the Revolutionary War at Yorktown, and had then returned to England. Now he found himself in India. He was none other than Lord Cornwallis. "The man who lost America was sent to govern India."[10]

Cornwallis was a strong ruler, and set up reforms that were to influence the British control in India for many years to come. His was a command that included alliances and campaigns and territorial adjustments. He set up the Civil Service. However, it was his handling of the government land revenue problem in Bengal that had far-reaching effects on education. It deserves some discussion here.

Cornwallis, against the opinion of experts at the time, established the so-called "Permanent Settlement." The term "settlement" is a translation of the Persian "bandobast," and, under the Moghul Empire in India, referred to the whole series of operations incidental to the assessment of land revenue or the government's share of the produce of the country. Cornwallis insisted on simplifying the whole ever-changing and adjustable process. He decided to determine the rates of land taxes once for all. It was to be permanent, come what might.

The hardships incidental to Cornwallis' hardheaded handling of the land-tax problem were widespread. The whole explanation of the implications of the problem is extremely complicated and has no place in this study. Complete details are available in any standard history of India.[11]

Education in the Lower Ganges area suffered setbacks long after Cornwallis had departed from the scene. When the time came to establish a cess or tax to maintain and to establish schools, the Government of India, because of the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis, met with serious obstacles in Bengal. Taxes in that province had been fixed once for all. The provinces of Bombay, Madras, and others had no such problem.[12]

Immediately after the establishment of the empire, years later, the problem came up. This was in 1858. An expert, James Wilson, Secretary to the Board of Control, was sent to India from England to study the educational cess problem in Bengal, since the landowners in that province were claiming exemption. He decided in favor of the Government of India. The decision, referred to as "The Duke of Argyll's Despatch," asserting the right to tax the richest and most privileged class in India and make them carry their share of the national expenditure as regards education, was sent to India in 1870.

In spite of the termination of the memorable debate initiated so many years before by Cornwallis, the fact is that no cess for the maintenance of elementary schools was imposed on land in Bengal. It was a problem that had to resolve itself through the final decentralization of finances some years later.[13] In closing the discussion of this problem, an interesting comment by a defender of the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis is appropriate: "Permanent Settlement caused a large middle class with a secure income, which is the cause of the social, literary, and educational advancement of Bengal."[14]

As was stated before, the idea that it was the duty of the English Government to communicate her intellectual and moral conceptions by the channel of education came from missionaries rather than from statesmen and administrators. In South India, missionaries had been active long before 1800. Catholics were active in mission schools by 1552, the time of Saint Francis Xavier. Protestants, led by great leaders like Ziegenbalg and Plutschou, were carrying on important school work in 1706. Translations of the Scriptures into native languages began at once. A mission school was active in Serampore in Bengal in 1793.[15]

There is little doubt that the missionary agencies gave an impetus to government enterprise in education. In 1781, Warren Hastings, the governor-general, founded the Calcutta Madrassah (Moslem college) "to qualify the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, even at that date largely monopolized by the Hindus."[16] In 1792, Jonathan Duncan founded the Benares Sanskrit College to train Hindus for public offices.

In the beginning government interest was far from altruistic as far as education was concerned. Criminal acts were being committed against the British by Indians, and the British wanted to quote the Indians' own law against them. Therefore, the two schools mentioned above were created to train Maulvis to cite Moslem law against their turbulent coreligionists, and to train Pandits to cite Hindu law in the courts against Hindu offenders.

Interest in improving the condition of the Indians began to take hold. The representatives of the East India Company were held responsible to England for good government, and soon far-sighted individuals recognized that this involved some promotion of education. A Court of Directors' Despatch, of February 16, 1787, lauds the schooling efforts of the missionary Schwartz in Tanjore in South India.[17] In 1789, the Calcutta Free School Society was founded to promote education.[18]

The charter of the East India Company had to be renewed every twenty years. It was a time of reckoning, because the British Government used the occasion as an opportunity to review past errors. One of the renewal periods came in 1793. A missionary, Charles Grant, got an influential friend, Wilberforce, to insert the so-called "pious clauses" in the new charter. The aim was to make the East India Company responsible for the promotion of education through missionaries and schoolmasters in India. Grant failed in his attempt. The "pious clauses" were rejected.[19]

In 1798, Sir John Shore, who succeeded Cornwallis as governor-general in Bengal, wrote in his "Notes on Indian Affairs" that the British ought to establish schools, or at least encourage those that already exist.[20] Planters got busy on their own, and documents show that Ellerton, an indigo planter at Malda, set up vernacular schools of some sort, and even wrote some textbooks.[21] A powerful and intelligent individual, in the person of the Marquis of Wellesley, took over as governor-general in the year 1798.

The Story of Education From 1800 to 1835

The missionaries were not without opposition in their plans to educate the Indians in European morals and manners. In his valuable selections from documents, Sharp records the fact that the very articulate missionary Charles Grant took issue with an anti-missionary party headed by Major Scott Waring and Sydney Smith. The latter group insisted that the Europeans had no right to change the Indians. Grant, who became a member of Parliament in 1802, some years after his return from India, insisted that English should be the medium in the schools in India and that the Indians had been misled in their own learning.[22]

On September 7, 1808, a Despatch[23] from the Court of Directors referring to the efforts of missionary education in Serampore, Bengal, gave the missionary policy something of a rebuff. It stressed the policy of strict religious neutrality in education in India. This was, of course, contrary to the desires of missionaries, but the East India Company was interested in trade, and not the religious or educational welfare of the Indians. The company administrators were determined to maintain the status quo if possible and to avoid every possibility of stirring up the natives. Trade and order were the watchwords.

The year 1813 was very significant as far as education in Bengal was concerned—in fact, as far as all India was concerned. As has been noted, in spite of the efforts of missionaries, the education clause was not included in the Charter of the East India Company when it was renewed in 1793. It was up for renewal again in 1813. Now the so-called "Clapham Sect,"[24] which included Charles Grant, won their point this time. Zachary Macaulay was also a member of that sect or evangelical party. This is significant, because the latter was the father of Lord Macaulay, whose important influence on education will be discussed later in this chapter. The point won by the "Clapham Sect" was that, in 1813, Parliament made the first grant for education in India.

By Act 53 of King George III, it was declared "lawful for the governor-general in council to direct that one lakh (about

$35,000) be used for the revival and improvement of literature and to promote knowledge of the sciences."[25]

That last word, "sciences," immediately started a bitter controversy. Just what did the word mean? Some thought it meant the promotion of British learning. The Court of Directors issued a Despatch in 1814 stating that by "sciences" was meant the "Oriental Sciences."[26] However, this did not settle the matter. The seeds of the conflict between the Anglicists and the Classicists had been sown. It subsisted till the time of Lord Macaulay in 1835.

Although the government was slow in promoting education, individuals were not unwilling to promote it with personal funds and efforts. In 1814 near Chinsurah, Robert May had sixteen schools operating to provide instruction for Indians. A military man, Captain Steward, set up numerous vernacular schools near Burdwan under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society in 1816.[27]

The governor-general of Bengal at this time was Lord Moira. In a Minute dated 1815, he regards the humble but valuable class of village schoolmasters as claiming the first place in his discussion. He writes of establishing schools for administrative districts called "zillas," and also writes of encouraging science with bounties.[28]

To list all the individuals who contributed to the educational pattern of these early days is beyond the scope of this study. Many of them have been mentioned, at least, in the preface. However, a few will be noted. In 1818 the Earl of Moira (Marquis of Hastings) set up the Calcutta School Society. Its purpose was to improve existing schools and to support potential school projects.[29] David Hare, a wealthy watchmaker, personally encouraged education in India. It was largely through his efforts that the Anglo-Indian College (also referred to as Vidyalaya) was founded in Bengal in 1816. Alexander Duff, a Scottish missionary schoolman in India, says that it was the first English seminary in India.[30]

It became the first government college.

An Indian whose memory is venerated in Bengal is Ram Mohun Roy. His influence was powerful. He co-operated with missionaries and secularists who founded colleges to bring India into line with modern thought. He supported movements for the provision of primary and secondary schools for the teaching of Bengali and English. In school effort he co-operated with David Hare. He also influenced the individual whose activities in favor of education in Bengal will be considered next, William Adam. Ram Mohun Roy's theological views were an odd mixture, according to some writers, of Hinduism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.[31] However, this "mixture" of theological views will be found in most cultured Indians, since that is the very timbre of Hinduism. It assimilates and tries to benefit by every religion. Perhaps Gandhi was a good example.

There are not many statistics on education in these early years. However, the documents gathered by Sharp show some on the Anglo-Indian College, which was founded in 1816 largely through the efforts of David Hare. According to the documents, the college had 196 pupils in 1826, 372 in 1827 and 437 in 1828.[32]

The Reverend William Adam is the next individual who deserves mention as a significant figure in the early development of education in Bengal. He came from England as a missionary of the Protestant church in 1818. His religious views underwent considerable change after a time in India, partly because of the influence of Ram Mohun Roy, and eventually Adam became an extreme liberal. This change irked some of his fellow missionaries, and he has been referred to opprobriously as "the second fallen Adam."[33] However, his contribution to education is what justifies reference to him here.

Adam was interested in education far more than in missionary work per se, and tried to interest people in co-operating with him in a sort of survey of educational conditions. He sought some data on which to base a centralization plan for the erection and maintenance of schools. His plans were not entirely original. In 1823 H. H. Wilson, who was Secretary of Public Instructions, in a letter asked agents in different areas for data. He perhaps anticipated Adam.[34]

In 1829, Adam addressed a memorandum to Lord William Bentinck, who was governor-general of Bengal. He begged to be allowed to make an educational survey. His ambition was finally satisfied when he was appointed Special Commissioner for a survey of the state of education in the Lower Ganges area including Bengal and Behar. He was allowed a thousand rupees a month for expenses. Pursuing his task very systematically, he carried on the survey from 1835 to 1838, and carefully summarized all his findings.[35] Even today, the report is interesting reading.

In detail, Adam described the conditions of learning as he found them. He pointed out that Burdwan, directly north of Calcutta, was the most advanced district with 931 schools.[36] He described finding native teachers serving gratuitously, and insisted that the principal reason for this was that religious merit and social consideration were attached to learning.[37]

Besides giving elaborate figures and describing the conditions of learning as he found them, Adam submitted suggestions for remedies and improvement. He advocated the training of *gurus* (Indian teachers) and also the allotment of land in each village to help finance the needs of education. Grant-in-aid was another of the recommendations he made for native schools. The Education Committee under Macaulay despaired of the value of a grant-in-aid system.[38] Adam insisted that "any intervention of Government either by superintendence or by contribution should be directed to the improvement of existing tuition."[39]

In the latter recommendation he said he was only quoting Lord Moira's Minute on Judicial Administration of the Presidency of Bengal (Fort William) in 1815. In spite of the views of missionaries and the attitude of government administrators, Adam said: "It is impossible to fully express my confirmed conviction of the impracticability of the view of anyone who thinks that English should be the sole or even chief medium of conveying knowledge to the natives."[40]

Adam's plans, however, were voted down by the government officials. The plan that he suggested finally, as a last resort, was a trial experiment in some schools near the outskirts of Calcutta. It was not accepted. He did not even have a chance to prove his point that vernacular education should be encouraged. Adam gave up in disgust. He definitely did not approve of the trend in the government's policy which advocated the introduction of English education into India. It was years before the wisdom of Adam's suggestions to preserve indigenous education was recognized. He did not live to see this come about.

Even though Adam made a very important contribution to the understanding of the educational situation in Bengal in 1835, there is evidence that some of his findings were not accurate. He was biased in favor of indigenous education, and it is entirely possible that he exaggerated the figures on the number of schools he found in the various districts of Bengal.

In a critical and scholarly work that suggests dogged British thoroughness,[41] Sir Philip Hartog takes Adam to task, especially with regard to the so-called "legend of the 100,000 schools in Bengal and Behar." Hartog's criticism, however, is not so much directed at the man as an individual, or even at his procedure in gathering data. He says, "His [Adam's] chief defect lay in the failure to summarize his statistics clearly."[42]

In the development of the educational pattern in the Lower Ganges area, Adam's work was not lost. His findings were used as a basis for plans of education that were evolved later. Perhaps he was a bit vehement in his disgust at the government's refusal to adopt a scheme of encouraging the many, though inadequate and inefficient, vernacular schools throughout Bengal. He could not sell his ideas to the government at the time. He antagonized officials. However, his findings and views bore fruit. Mr. Boutros of Serampore Mission Schools, north of Calcutta, in his inquiry into the system of education, approved Adam's scheme of vernacular instruction. Controversy on the value of vernacular education was going on in Bombay too.[43] James Thomason, Lieutenant Governor of the Upper Province, made successful use of Adam's recommendations on a grant-in-aid scheme.[44] Thomason's successes with Adam's plan interested Lord Dalhousie in Bengal in 1849 and the Directors of Education. However, the lack of suitable textbooks, and the influence of the Report of the Council of Public Instruction submitted by Sir C. E. Trevelyan before the Parliamentary Committee of Lords, halted a scheme for establishing vernacular schools in Bengal as Adam had recommended.[45]

The Great Educational Despatch of 1854, known as Wood's Despatch, reflects a careful study of Adam's findings and suggestions. He was ahead of his time in appreciating the value of indigenous and vernacular education. It is an old story.

To keep Adam's contributions together as a unit, the writer has gone a little ahead of himself, and therefore must return to some significant developments in the educational pattern before the time of Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835.

Female education was not entirely neglected in the early days. In 1821, Miss Cook (later Mrs. Wilson), under the auspices of the Missionary Society, established twenty-two girls' schools with a total of about 400 pupils.[46]

A group designated as "The Christian Knowledge Society" set up a so-called "Circle System" of schools at three places (Tallygunj, Kasipore and Howrah) in Bengal in 1822, with five schools ancillary to each center school.[47] This is a significant development because the idea of the "Circle School" was taken up years later both in Bengal and in other provinces as a stop-gap solution of teacher shortages and financial curtailments. The plan will be discussed at length later.

It is evident that the government took continued interest in education because at this time the Calcutta School Society was receiving a monthly grant of 500 rupees, and in 1823 a General Committee of Public Instruction was constituted to care for the introduction of useful knowledge including European arts and sciences. This committee was the direct result of a note written by an individual official named Holt Mackenzie. A lakh of rupees was placed at the committee's disposal for expenses.[48] The committee submitted an urgent letter to the Governor General seven years later, asking that the natives be made familiar with European literature and sciences. The Annual Report of the General Committee in 1831 encouraged a study of native literature too. This shows that the vernacular was not entirely disapproved.[49]

Although the Lower Ganges area is the chief object of this study, it should be noted that the other provinces in India were not static in their educational developments. In 1822, the Bombay Native Education Society was organized. In Madras, the Governor General, Sir Thomas Munro, was promoting an extensive educational survey. Four years later, the Governor General published an important Minute on Education. It formulated the policy for that province.[50] In Bombay, the Governor General, Mountstuart Elphinstone, was doing no less, for he too published an important Minute on Education in 1824.

The year 1830 was important in the development of the educational pattern of the Lower Ganges area in India. It was in this year that Alexander Duff, a vigorous Scotch missionary, came to India.[51] His work and efforts in behalf of missionary schools in Bengal were widespread. He had ardent followers, and used education, especially higher education, as a missionary instrument.

Another event that occurred about this time was the abandonment of Persian as the language of the courts. The Moslems, whose religion was rooted in Persia and Arabia, were disturbed. They became suspicious of the British Government, and looked askance at Western education as likely to lead to infidelity to Islam. As noted earlier in this study, the Hindus had no such scruples, and as a result the Moslems fell far behind the Hindus in their achievements in Western learning. It was not until 1857, through the influence of Sir Syed Ahmad, who founded the University of Aligarh, that the Moslem community as a whole took a more united interest in English education.[52]

It was in 1830 that Ram Mohun Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj, a new Hindu church. His aim was to purify the religious and moral ideas of orthodox Hindu society and propagate a new faith based on the idealism of the Upanishads or Hindu scriptures. This movement had an influence on education because Ram Mohun Roy was enthusiastic for Western learning and tried to keep at arm's length the older ideals and vehicles of public instruction. He worked with Lord Macaulay, whose influence will be discussed shortly. Among Ram Mohun Roy's followers were prominent individuals, such as the father of the great Bengali poet, Tagore, and the famous Indian orator, Keshab Chandra Sen.[53]

In 1833, the House of Commons renewed the East India Company's charter, and laid down the principle that "no native of the said Indian territories . . . shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company."[54]

Now it was clear that the Company was expected to take care of more than commercial interests. It was expected that "natives" would be appointed in increasing numbers to responsible offices. The Company was to administer territory for the Crown. In harmony with the program, the funds of the Committee for Education had mounted from one lakh in 1831 to ten lakhs in 1833.[55]

The Macaulay Minute on Education and Its Aftermath

Perhaps the importance of Lord Macaulay's Minute on Education in India has been exaggerated in the history of education as determining the pattern in that country, but the fact is that it has come to be used as a sort of byword describing a plan for Occidentalizing a phase of life in the Orient. Macaulay's was not a voice crying in the wilderness that was suddenly heard in the cause of English education. Lord Bentinck, who had become Governor General, was bent on such a course. Many others advocated it. It was Macaulay who formulated the plan for Anglicizing the education of India. His was the proposed solution to the battle between Anglicists and Orientalists. The former advocated an educational system that was entirely English, the latter insisted on preserving and studying the old Indian classics in Sanskrit. Macaulay bypassed another faction among the differing educators, those who opposed both Anglicists and Classicists, and advocated a school system that based itself on the indigenous learning by making use of the vernacular or local dialects, and William Adam, who has been described above, was one of these Vernacularists.

It was in 1834 that Macaulay went to India to act as President of the General Committee in the government officials' board. It was a lucrative position. His letters to people back in England show that he planned to replenish his sagging purse with the £10,000 that were allotted him in his new position.

On February 2, 1835, Macaulay's Minute on Education came out. Promptly, on the seventh of the following month, Lord Bentinck confirmed the Minute, and it became law. In essence, it stipulated that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education should be employed for English education alone. It went even further than that. Grants that had been allowed for the Oriental colleges were to be stopped.

"His Lordship in Council is of the opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone."[56]

Macaulay's Minute was a rhetorical masterpiece that ridiculed Oriental learning. The pity of the matter was that it was penned by an individual who admittedly did not know anything about Oriental culture and was not interested in it. A quotation from the Minute is appropriate here:

> The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language [English], we shall teach languages in which by universal confession there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which by universal confession whenever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance at the public expense medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns 30,000 years long and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter. . . .[57]

As noted before, there were many others who championed an English educational system. Charles Grant had written a treatise in 1797 that favored the use of English and anticipated Macaulay.[58] Ram Mohun Roy had written Lord Amhers (William Pitt) in 1823 recommending "European learning in India."[59]

However, there were important individuals who were opposed to this policy. Besides William Adam, there were others like Lord Moira, who had served in Bengal, Elphinstone, the Governor General of Bombay, and James Thomason, who was a successful governor and educator in the Upper Province.[60] A most interesting opponent of Macaulay was H. T. Prinsep, who served on the Committee of Public Instruction while the former held his post. In a Note dated February 15, 1835, he answered Macaulay's Minute. There is a reprint of the document in Sharp's collection. Marginal notes in Macaulay's own handwriting are in evidence. Prinsep's arguments and distinctions were keener than those of the stubborn Macaulay. The latter tries to answer Prinsep. Finally, Macaulay writes: "I do not retract the substance of a single proposition I have advanced."[61]

This statement of Macaulay is in harmony with what he said at the end of his Minute: ". . . if the present system rests unchanged, I beg to be permitted to retire as Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction."[62]

Macaulay was determined that the policy of the government should be to push English education. However, his views, expressed in the peroration of a speech, may surprise some:

> It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.[63]

Not only did Lord Macaulay ask for a system of education that disdained the indigenous culture of India but he also called for education for the higher ranks of society alone. In a Minute of July 31, 1837, he wrote:

> We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of this country. We aim at raising up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope, be the means of diffusing among their countrymen some por-

> tion of the knowledge we have imparted to them. . . . If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalis, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers. . . .[64]

This was the theory of education that came to be designated as the "downward filtration theory" and was supposedly accepted as the official policy right up to the time of the Great Educational Despatch of Wood in 1854. The notion was not entirely new. In 1823, Fraser wrote to the Chief Secretary of Calcutta (Fort William), saying that, "about 10,000 boys are ready for education . . . and we need 175 rupees to educate 100 per month." However, the Committee of Public Instruction refused the request and said: "Better improve the education of the more respectable members of Indian society."[65]

In a Note in Revenue Consultation Department Affairs, Holt Mackenzie on July 17, 1823, writes: "To provide for the education of a great body of people seems impossible in the present state of things . . . natural course seems that knowledge should descend from the higher classes and gradually spread."[66]

To close the discussion of the "filtration" theory, the well-worded comments of Arthur Mayhew can scarcely be improved:

> With reference to hard facts it [the filtration theory] meant little more than that funds were strictly limited and sufficient only for circles where a real demand existed or could easily be stimulated, the need for English-knowing public servants pressing and the difficulties of creating vernacular schools and textbooks appalling. . . . It would have been wiser to abstain from any further and dangerously metaphorical justification. For the metaphor survived, to be a powerful weapon in the hands of those who through scepticism as to the possibilities of mass education, instinctive prejudice against broadcast culture or a selfish desire to appropriate all that was available for their caste fellows, were to display for fifty years or more chilling apathy, or at times even active opposition, towards the authorities' efforts to make the system less top-heavy.[67]

A few words must be said about Lord Bentinck before turning to his successor. The direct results of the Resolution of Lord Bentinck on the use of English in the schools was that the publication of Oriental books was stopped and stipends to Oriental students were cut off. Plans were made to set up six new English schools at once and six more later.[68] Furthermore, Bentinck appointed a committee to report on the state of medical education in the Calcutta Native Medical Institution and in other medical schools. The Committee recommended a new institution along European medical lines and the plan was accepted and implemented in short order. In time, the native type of medical instruction was gradually discarded.[69] Before departing from India, Lord William Bentinck had formulated the strict policy of religious neutrality in the matter of education.[70]

The Earl of Auckland succeeded Bentinck as Governor General in 1836. As was expected, the Orientalists stirred up a lot of trouble as soon as Bentinck had stopped the accustomed government funds for the Oriental colleges. Bentinck was determined on his course, however. When Auckland came into office, the students of the Government Sanskrit College made a formal petition for a restoration of their funds.[71]

The new Governor General examined the problem, and ordered that the accustomed funds be restored to the Oriental colleges to the total that had been allowed before Bentinck's retrenching order.[72] Auckland did not tamper with the problem of the medium of instruction in the government schools, but he said he was very much interested in the two great experiments. Reference here was to the Bombay Province, where the vernacular language was the medium of instruction, and the Bengal Province, where the Governor General resided, and where English was the medium of instruction. The order to use the English medium in Bombay and Madras was quickly carried out on a large scale in Bombay and Madras Provinces, even though these two were definitely under the Governor

General in Bengal. In Bengal, the General Committee for Education was committed to a program of pushing education through the medium of English. Even though Auckland might be personally interested in some change, the Committee, for the time being, was not looking for any modification of the system inaugurated officially by Macaulay and Lord Bentinck. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the instruction which was going on in the vernacular medium in existent schools (mostly private schools) was not prohibited by the Committee.

An experiment outside Bengal interested many educators within that province. This was the one carried on by James Thomason, who had been appointed first Lieutenant Governor of the United Province, which had been separated from the jurisdiction of Bengal in 1842. Thomason, following the old recommendations of William Adam, encouraged the development of the indigenous schools of the area around Agra, and achieved considerable success, as far as it could be evaluated.[73]

At this time, to systematize the development of public instruction in Bengal, the Governor General ordered local committees to visit educational institutions within their province at least once each month. Stark quotes a classical comment on this: "The order was formal in every respect and was clear and definite in its aim. It had only one fault: it was not acted upon."[74]

In 1841, the General Committee of Public Instruction was abolished. It had been operating for about twenty years with numerous reverses and some successes. In 1842, the Council of Education was formed to take the place of the Old Committee.[75] Education in Bengal was developing on paper at least. Councils were set up in Bombay and in Madras too.[76]

Much has been written about Indian nationalism developing from the British system of education in India. Perhaps it is in place here to note that it was in Bengal in 1843 that the first group of Indians banded together into the British India Society of Bengal to "secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects."[77]

Lord Hardinge was Governor General in 1844. He enunciated a Resolution that had far-reaching effects in education that are evident in India even today. It gave direction to English education for Indians. Hardinge stated that "preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established [i.e., by the Government]."[78]

As a result of Hardinge's Resolution, the aim of almost the whole system of education in India became training for government service. Key positions and good jobs were not abundant enough for all the products of the schools. Many Indians became mere government clerks, babus. Talented individuals were lost to the land and to industry. Later reports will show that efforts were made to solve this problem. However, it is a problem even now.

The Circle School System (Hulkabundi System) has been described briefly as being operated by a missionary group as early as 1821. The far-sighted Governor Thomason made good use of this system to promote Indian education under his jurisdiction in the United Provinces area. According to the plan, the villages were grouped in circles, and in each circle a vernacular elementary school was established under the management of the government.[79] Some progressive and objective education leaders observed the effects of the system and suggested its use in Bengal. However, it was not under Hardinge that it was tried out in this province.

Hardinge was commendably eager to foster sound and useful elementary instruction in the vernacular language. He ordered the establishment of 101 schools in Bengal. These were set up according to his orders, but in ten years records show that only 26 of the original 101 schools organized to promote the vernacular were still operating.[80] The influence of Macaulay and Bentinck, favoring English as a medium of instruction, was widespread. Then, too, Hardinge himself had stated preference for English-trained government workers in the Resolution of 1844.

For educational statistics in this period, the writer turns to Sharp's Records. Although these figures are not significantly related to general population, they have value here and give the reader an idea of the numbers involved. The published report of the Committee on Education for 1837 shows the following: Oriental Classical Schools had 983 pupils and were allotted 7,295 rupees per month; Anglo-Vernacular Schools had 3,926 pupils and were allotted 16,927 rupees per month; Vernacular Schools had 5,393 pupils and were allotted 25,338 rupees per month.[81] It is noteworthy that these latter figures referring to the number of pupils are slightly larger (the difference is 1,152) than those quoted from Returns and Papers presented to the House of Lords for Bengal in 1853 by Mahmood. The latter writer says there were 141 institutions (English and Vernacular), 387 teachers, and 9,150 pupils in Bengal in 1852.[82]

In 1848, a strong individual in the person of Lord Dalhousie took over as Governor General. A prominent square in Calcutta bears his name today. It was under him that an important change came about in the management of the province of Bengal. Hitherto, the Governor General ruled the province and the rest of India under the jurisdiction of the East India Company and its charter. The change was this: a Lieutenant General, Governor Halliday, was appointed to manage the affairs of the Province of Bengal. The Governor General of all India, however, continued to maintain his residence in Bengal.

Dalhousie was interested in education. The Chair of Engineering was first established in the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1844.[83] Now, in 1848, Dalhousie was demanding a chair of engineering for each province.[84]

The problem of female education came to the fore at this time. Little had been done about it since the establishment of schools for girls by Mrs. Wilson back in 1821. The President of the Council of Education in 1849 was Drinkwater Bethune.

He had a special interest in female education and set up a school for girls in Calcutta that bears his name today. It had but eleven pupils in the beginning, but it was a turning point in furthering female education.[85] The encouraging thing was that, in April of 1850, Lord Dalhousie informed the Bengal Council of Education that it must superintend female instruction.[86] However, it was not until Wood's Despatch of 1854 that the Government formally assumed responsibility for female instruction.

In December of 1854, Lord Dalhousie issued a Minute in which he appointed officers to superintend the Department of Education in the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, and the Northwest Province.[87] He also set up a scheme of grant-in-aid for the schools. He was interested as well in the Circle School System which had been utilized with success by Governor Thomason in the Agra area. A certain Mr. Woodrow was deputed to try the system in the Eastern Districts of Bengal in 1856. There was some success with the system but results were not startling. However, there was good evidence that the Circle Schools seemed to improve their standards as they continued to function.[88]

Although it was not evident at the time, things were seething in India. Lord Dalhousie with ruthless and high-handed policies did not help matters. In 1856, shortly before returning to England and retirement, he formally annexed the province of Oudh under the policy of lapse. A partially accepted principle had been formulated by which the government of India assumed the right to annex states which belonged to the independent rulers or maharajahs when there was evidence of gross misrule or when there was no legitimate successor to the deceased ruler.

When Dalhousie took over the province of Oudh, the other native rulers or princes in India began to worry about their own positions. They set about stirring up feeling against the British. The climax came when Dalhousie was gone. There was widespread mutiny in 1857, beginning in Dum Dum and

Barrackpore in Bengal.

This study does not purpose to discuss the real reasons of the mutiny. This is the province of the historians. It has been done over and over, and, in most cases, with much evidence of anger and partisanship, whether the writers are British or Indian. What really mattered as far as education was concerned was that the East India Company had run its course.

Wood's Despatch, which came out in 1854, had effects which were far-reaching though not immediate. Wood (later Lord Halifax) lent his name to the famous document although some authorities insist that it was really drawn up by John Stuart Mill, the philosopher.[89] An important result of the Despatch was the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. This fact and its implications will bear discussion in the next chapter together with the other far-reaching results of the memorable document. A Despatch of Lord Stanley in 1859 sums up the Despatch of Wood and implements it.

Closing this chapter, we note that the Mutiny was suppressed. A new era began for India. With the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, the Empire of India had its inception:

> Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.
>
> Whereas for divers weighty reasons, We have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, to take up Ourselves the government of the territories in *India, heretofore administered in trust for Us by the Honorable East India Company. . . .*
>
> It is Our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all Our subjects resident therein.[90]

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION IN THE NEW EMPIRE FROM 1858 TO THE COMMISSION OF 1882

WITH THE PROCLAMATION of Queen Victoria, cited in the preceding chapter, Britain accepted formal and open responsibility for the educational pattern of India. As was pointed out in the introduction,[1] the age of pioneers and individual effort in the realm of education in India had come to a close, and the government took over completely and decisively.

The East India Company submitted, but not without a struggle. The Board of the Company presented an eloquent petition asking for renewal of its charter, and denying that it was responsible for the evils of the Mutiny of 1857. It demanded recognition for all the good the Company had accomplished since its original charter under Elizabeth. It is striking that the Company had its beginning and its end under a woman ruler in England. The petition for a charter renewal by the Company proved futile.[2]

The policy of education under the newly proclaimed Empire of India was necessarily based on that of the past. This fact was pointed out in the introduction to this study.[3] As was noted at the end of the preceding chapter, Wood's Despatch of 1854 was the most significant document on education in India since the British had come to that country. To show that this document was to be the basis for the future pattern, the Despatch of Lord Stanley of 1859 was issued from England. It formally accepted the principles of Wood's Despatch except on a few points which will be discussed later.

Between the dates of the two Despatches, the Mutiny had been quelled and India had passed from the Company to the Crown. This involved the appointment of the first viceroy. He was Lord Canning, a man who exhibited British qualities at their best. His countrymen nicknamed him "Clemency" for his sincere efforts to establish peaceful order after the great disturbance.

The Despatch of 1859 was, in a sense, the pledge of fulfillment of the promises made in Queen Victoria's famous proclamation. To cite the Despatch of 1854 and the one of 1859 in their entirety is impractical. However, many summaries have been drawn up. The writer selects the one made by Arthur Holwell and quoted by Stark. It is one of the best and merits insertion here before further description of the development of the educational pattern is attempted.

> The main object of the Despatch of 1854 is to divert the efforts of Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom they had up to date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider *diffusion of education among all classes of people;* and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses. Such instruction is to be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government; and a compulsory rate, levied under the direct authority of Government, is pointed out as the best means of obtaining funds for the purpose. The system must be extended upwards by the establishment of Government schools as models, to be superseded gradually by schools started on the *grant-in-aid principle.* This principle is to be of perfect religious neutrality, defined in regular rules adapted to the circumstances of each Province, and clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. Schools, whether purely Government institutions or aided, in all of which (excepting Normal Schools) the *payment of*

some fee, however small, is to be the rule, are to be in regular graduation from those which give the humblest elementary instruction to the highest colleges; and the best pupils of one grade are to climb through the other grades by means of *scholarships* obtainable in the lower schools, and tenable in the higher. To provide masters, *Normal schools* are to be established in each Province, and moderate allowances given for the support of those who possess an aptness for teaching, and are willing to devote themselves to the profession of schoolmasters. By this means, it is hoped that, at no distant period, institutions may be in operation in all the Presidencies calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools, and thus in time greatly to limit, if not altogether to obviate, the necessity of recruiting the educational services by means of engagements made in England. The *medium of education is to be the vernacular languages* of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are to be advertised for and liberally rewarded by Government as the means of enriching vernacular literature. While, therefore, the vernacular languages are on no account to be neglected, the English language may be taught where there is a demand for it; but the English language is not to be substituted for the vernacular dialects of the country. The existing institutions for the *study of classical languages* of India are to be maintained, and respect is to be paid to the hereditary veneration which they command. *Female education* is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government, as by it a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. In addition to the Government and aided colleges and schools for general education, *special institutions* for imparting special education in law, medicine, engineering, art, and agriculture are to receive in every Province the direct aid and encouragement of Government. The agency by which the system of education is to be carried out is the *Director in each Province*, assisted by a competent staff of *Inspectors*, care being taken that the cost of control shall be kept in fair proportion to the cost of direct measures of instruction. To complete the system *in each Presidency, a University* is to be established on the model of the *London University*, at each of the three Presidency towns. These Universities are not to be themselves places of education, but they are to test the value of the education given elsewhere; they are to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through, the standard required being such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students. Education is to be aided and supported by the principal officials of every District, and is to receive, besides, the direct encouragement of the State by the opening of *Government appointments to those who have received a good education*, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired; and, in the lower situations, by preferring a man who can read and write, and is equally eligible in other respects to one who cannot. [Italics are the present writer's.][4]

The Despatch of 1854 was epoch-making. Volumes of evidence had been gathered and then considered by the Committees of the Lords and Commons in England. Perhaps the most important of the witnesses considered on the question of education in India were: Sir Charles Trevelyan (Macaulay's brother-in-law), J. C. Marshman, and Alexander Duff. The Despatch is bold and far-seeing and statesmanlike. Anyone who has any background in Indian education up to this time is deeply impressed by the document if he reads it carefully. It imposed upon the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education that ranged from the primary school to the University. It anticipated (perhaps idealistically in regard to Bengal) that a Department of Public Instruction in every province with a staff of inspectors would take care of all educational policy and its direction.[5]

Before proceeding to a discussion of Wood's Despatch in more detail, a glance at the contemporary scene in England at this time is important. Only the educational phase in England merits attention here—and that only insofar as it was reflected in India. Since England was in charge in India, it was but natural to expect that the educational policy of the British Government at home would be reflected in India. In 1835, when Bentinck and Macaulay demanded English education in India, they were reflecting the policy at home, or at least the attitude of a strong and articulate group.

The Committee of the Privy Council on Education in England enunciated certain principles in its minutes in 1846. These principles were evident in Wood's Despatch of 1854.[6] Later, the Newcastle Commission in England was appointed to inquire into the state of popular education. It considered measures for bringing sound and cheap elementary education to all classes of the English people. The result of the Commission's study was an introduction of the system of "payment by results," as Mr. Lowe, a prominent educationalist of the period in England, describes:

> As regards the elementary education of the humbler classes there are certain principles which are now pretty well established and carried out, viz., firstly, that the education of the poor ought not be left wholly to private enterprise, but ought to be undertaken by the State; secondly, that the State represents in education not the religious but the secular element; thirdly, that the best way of carrying on education is not by a centralized system, but by calling for all local energy; fourthly, that the work should be tested and superintended by Government and not by those who carry on the work, and fifthly, that State aid ought to be given to schools not merely for being in existence, or for showing a certain attendance on their books, but for a certain amount of efficiency: that in short, it is the business of the State to ascertain the results and to pay in proportion to them.[7]

The reflection of English educational policy in India was but natural. It would have been strange to find it otherwise. An important point here is that there was a lag between what went on in England and what was followed in India. Communication facilities in the early and middle nineteenth century were not what they are today. The Viceroy of India was far away from the Secretary of State for India who resided in London. A few examples of lag will serve to emphasize the point here before the writer returns to the more pertinent discussion of the Despatch of 1854.

The system of "payment by results" continued in force in England until 1895, from which year grants were given for different parts of the curriculum. Other changes, e.g., the "block grant," came soon after.[8] The policy of "payment by results" continued in India for a long time in spite of evident evils.

The Universities founded in India followed the pattern of the University of London, which was merely an examining body with a number of affiliated colleges. When reform was inaugurated in England, it was not reflected in India except after a long delay.

Enough was said to illustrate the point that the policy of education in India reflected developments in England. The writer turns back to a consideration of the important items in the Despatch of 1854 and its sequel, Stanley's Despatch of 1859. Its broad policy has been pointed out.

The immediate result of the Despatch of 1854 was the founding of the three provincial universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. It is significant that these three were set up in 1857, right in the midst of the Sepoy[9] Mutiny. They were not universities in the American sense, but rather were authorized examining bodies with affiliated colleges after the plan of the London University. The year after the universities were set up in India, the London University itself was remodelled and gave up its system of affiliates as unsatisfactory.[10] The Indian universities kept the scheme.

The idea of a university in India was not entirely new. It had been urgently suggested in 1845 by the president of the

Council of Education in Calcutta, Charles Hay Cameron.[11] It is worthy of note that the Senate Board of the University of Calcutta included the Governor General (later Viceroy) Charles Canning and James Halliday, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The Senate Board of the University of Bombay was headed by the Lieutenant Governor, Lord Elphinstone. For the University of Madras, the Senate Board was headed by the Lieutenant Governor of that province, Lord Harris.[12] It is evident that the Central Government controlled the University of Calcutta directly. Although this university began with but 15 colleges and but 162 pupils passed,[13] it achieved priority in size and influence in a short time, and has maintained its status to the present day.

A few comments on the Despatch of 1859 are in order before proceeding to discuss that Despatch and the one of 1854 together with reference to their important points of agreement. In the beginning of the Despatch of 1859, the question is asked whether the educational policy set forth by the Despatch of 1854 had in any way served to provoke the Mutiny of 1857. At the end of the Despatch, the statement is made that there is no evidence of the educational policy being a cause of the Mutiny, except in that it incited some little jealousy in Bihar because some feared for the cause of native religion, but that the point was not significant.[14]

The Despatch of 1859 reviews the progress made under the Despatch of 1854 and reiterates and confirms it in essentials, but it makes an exception as to the course adopted for promoting elementary education. It notes that the native community failed to co-operate with the Government in promoting elementary vernacular education through the grant-in-aid system. It suggests the direct instrumentality of the officers of the government on the basis of a plan to improve indigenous schools. A special tax on land is recommended for consideration as a means of providing for elementary education.[15] Observant educational leaders perhaps realized that even though the system of grant-in-aid worked all right in England, conditions were different in India, "where the value of education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people . . . the poorest classes do not want schools . . . because they are too poor to pay schooling-fees."[16]

Now, to return to the specific items of educational policy in which the Despatches of 1854 and 1859 agree, it becomes evident in reading the two documents that the spread of mass education in the vernacular is emphasized. There is an implicit repudiation of the old "filtration theory," according to which the top class only was to be educated.[17] The Despatch of Wood in 1854 is clear about this point: ". . . to the consideration of some plan for the encouragement of indigenous schools and for the education of the lower classes."[18]

Even though the Despatches decried the "downward filtration" theory, the fact of the matter was that the schools which were organized for the masses tended to be taken over by the few who were higher in the social scale. Then, too, there were die-hard supporters of the old scheme. A few phrases from a speech of Babu Kossori Chand Mitter at the British Indian Association Meeting in 1868 evinces this: "The lower strata of the social fabric must be permeated through the higher strata. . . . Educate the upper and middle classes, and the lower classes will be instructed and elevated."[19]

As late as 1869, Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, saw fit to comment scathingly on the "downward filtration" theory, as Hunter records in Mayo's biography:

> I dislike this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Babus at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employment. In the meanwhile we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. If you wait till the bad English, which the 400 Babus learn in Calcutta, filters down into the 40 millions of Bengal, you will be ultimately a Silurian

> rock instead of a retiring judge. Let the Babus learn English by all means. But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's to Rural Bengal.[20]

This study aims to deal with more than high-sounding government documents and idealistic plans. The fact that India has an overall literacy of but twelve per cent today and Bengal scarcely sixteen per cent tends to indicate that educational plans have gone awry.[21] As has been pointed out, the Despatches stimulated the spread of vernacular education among the masses. There were serious obstacles in Bengal especially. The evil concomitant with the Permanent Settlement made by Lord Cornwallis at the close of the century before was still an impediment to education in Bengal. A cess for education was difficult to impose or collect. Land tax rates had been decided permanently. A second evil was the belief that elementary education should be fostered mainly by means of the grant-in-aid system.

The weakness of the grant-in-aid system was acknowledged in the Despatch of Lord Stanley in 1859. Perhaps the best discussion of the weakness of the system is provided by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Inspector of Schools in South Bengal in 1857. He says:

> It appears to me undeniable that the present grant-in-aid rules are inapplicable to the state of things in this country. The poorest classes, those who form the mass, do not want schools at all because they do not understand the use of education, because they are too poor to pay schooling fees and subscriptions, and because the labour of their children is required to enable them to live. The middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but English schools. Yet the rules in force presume the highest appreciation of education, because based on the supposition that the people will everywhere pay not only schooling fees but also subscriptions. In fact, we expect the peasantry and shopkeep-

ers of Bengal to make sacrifices for education which the same classes in civilized England often refuse to make. That we have been able to establish any vernacular schools at all is owing in nearly every case to the fact that in the place where such a school is set on foot, there happen to reside one or two persons of superior intelligence and education—a Calcutta clerk, a Moonshi, or a young Zemindar educated at College, etc., but even these take but little interest in promoting improved vernacular schools, and only as a *pis aller* where they cannot collect sufficient funds for an English school.[22]

It is evident, of course, that this grant-in-aid problem is tied up with the "downward filtration" theory. Interesting things happened in other areas of India, but the writer has restricted this study to Bengal. In considering the lack of correlation between recommendations on paper and actual practice, some reference must be made to Sir John Peter Grant, who was Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1860. The latter created a rather comprehensive system of municipal government in selected places. In accordance with this system, urban affairs were committed to local bodies which were empowered to raise funds and receive grants-in-aid of public money for sanitation and lighting, schools, and allied purposes.

The important point in this scheme was that grants for educational purposes were forbidden to be applied to the extension or support of primary vernacular schools or indigenous schools. They were to be expended on English schools and upon "vernacular schools of comparatively high order."[23]

Just how many were getting an education at this time? Goshal insists that in 1857 approximately three per cent of the children of school-going age were receiving any kind of education.[24]

The Despatches under consideration were concerned with a program of training teachers. This is an extremely important item in any educational scheme. A comment made in an inspector's report in 1863 describes the problem:

No provision had been made under the original scheme for the education of the *gurus*. The mere offer of money rewards from time to time was incapable of acting upon these men as an inducement to adopt an improved course of studies in their schools. This, it was conceded, was the weak point of the scheme, and here great improvements have been gradually introduced. A plan at first was devised according to which a certain number of *gurus* were to be transferred as stipendiary pupils to a vernacular normal school. Trained pupils from these were deputed to hold their places in the *patshalas* until the *gurus* could be prepared for re-assuming charge of their proper duties.[25]

In 1864, the Secretary of State for India approved for general adoption a plan concerning teachers. It was on the lines of a plan devised in England, and provided in a measure for the support of pupil-teachers while in training, and also for the improvement of salaries for trained teachers.

At times, schoolbooks of an improved type were distributed to *gurus*, and small money awards were given to those *gurus* who acquitted themselves well at the central examinations which had been set up to improve teachers. Furthermore, rewards were given to teachers who used improved methods of instruction in their schools. Stark describes these and many other experimental methods used to improve teacher standards.[26] No doubt they helped, and there were noticeable results. However, the over-all plan was weak.

Female education was an important item in the Despatch of 1854. It was the first time that female education was recognized as a responsibility of the Government.[27] Even then, it had a long rugged path to travel. Hindu and Moslem prejudices against the education of women in India were strong and deeply rooted. The whole background of the female education problem in India is aptly discussed in Noronha's scholarly dissertation.[28]

Besides the superb efforts of the missionaries in the cause of female education, there were courageous individuals who helped the cause. Reference must be made to Babu Mookerjee of Uttarpara, who gathered a group of Bengali gentlemen, and, with their support, established the Hitakari Sabha school for girls. Funds were collected to finance the scholarships of promising girls from district schools to the Hitakari Sabha in Calcutta. At first the school was little recognized, but in 1875, Mary Carpenter from England stimulated interest in it by her efforts, and a final push came from the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Richard Temple, when he issued a Resolution in 1876 directing the Sabha system to spread to more advanced districts of Bengal Province. Mrs. Wheeler, a capable lady, was appointed inspector that same year. Female education was beginning to figure in the Government plan. However, lest the picture be exaggerated, it must be remembered that official figures in 1941 show that the percentage of female students to the female population was 2.7 per cent and the percentage of males was 8.8 per cent.[29]

As to religion and government schools, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 adopted the policy of strict neutrality, and gave an assurance to the people that the Government had neither the right nor the desire to impose Christianity upon India.[30] The idea was not new. Governor Generals like Auckland and Dalhousie had emphasized this decades before.

In connection with the religious neutrality problem, there is an interesting reference in Richey's collection of documents. Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, writing to the Chairman of the Court of Directors on April 28, 1858, decried the help given to missionary schools because, as he said, the Government was pledged to be neutral in matters of religion. Notes on the margin of the letter in the hand of the Director of Public Instruction answer the charges with the statement that the aim of the Government should be to promote and encourage existing modes of education (even missionary) as being to the advantage of the Government, and that no violation of neutrality took place as long as Christian, Moslem, Hindu, and other groups were helped.[31]

A fact should be mentioned here even though it concerns an area outside Bengal Province because it had considerable bearing on the Moslem prejudice against Western learning. In 1875, through the efforts of a far-sighted Moslem, Sir Syed Ahmad, the Moslem Anglo-Oriental College was founded at Aligarh. The latter is a short distance southeast of Delhi. The institution soon grew in importance and established traditions of its own, attracting students even from the frontiers.[32] It served to soften the Moslem mind towards government schools even though the principle of religious neutrality was odious to Moslems.

The Circle School System comes to the fore at regular intervals in the development of the educational pattern in Bengal. In the Despatch of 1854, the Circle School System as utilized by Thomason in Agra was encouraged for Bengal. As was noted before, in the last chapter, Woodrow tried it out in Eastern Bengal with some good results. Reports of 1863 on what had been accomplished up to that time were favorable. Woodrow's plan of grouping the village schools into "circles" included a visiting inspector whose duty it was to control and coordinate all the schools in his "Circle Schools," so, by 1862, the "Circle Schools" were on the wane and a Normal School System was functioning according to which teachers of already existing village schools were provided training. By 1872, 2,500 schools had been staffed with trained teachers in Bengal, but this was still far from adequate for the vast population of that Province.[33]

The Government of Bengal, first and foremost, adopted the Normal School System mentioned above. The development or change was rather gradual. First, the aid afforded to schools was dependent on the results achieved by pupils at examinations. Later, the schools were graded as lower primary and upper primary. Finally the Chief-*Guru* System followed.

In essence, perhaps, the Chief-*Guru* System did not differ too much from the "Circle School" System. A Chief *Guru* had his school in an appointed village, and he had precedence over subsidiary *gurus* or teachers.[34]

The fact that finances were deliberately decentralized in 1871 encouraged Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, to make a special effort to extend the influence of primary education. Of course, funds always were a distressing item in the solution of the educational problems in Bengal. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, it started with the Permanent Land Settlement under Cornwallis. Even though the matter had been officially settled in 1870, and it was decreed legal to tax landowners for the schools, the problem of collection persisted. In 1875 the Finance Commission declared that "it is desirable that the cultivator should pay a smaller proportion [than he does right now] of the national charge."[35]

Mr. Howell sums up the position at this time as follows: "The State has in fact assumed the duty of providing elementary education for the masses but it has not undertaken and indeed it cannot undertake to find the necessary funds from the Imperial Exchequer."[36]

Scholarships figured in the Despatches of 1854 and 1859. In 1875, Sir George Campbell instituted primary scholarships to keep down the standard of the schools and keep instruction confined to a minimum–reading and writing the vernacular of the given District.[37]

The statement above hits a point that is often emphasized by Indian writers on education. They usually insisted that English teaching was the unified and agreed aim of all British educators in India. The fact is that Indians both demanded and desired instruction in English. Parents wanted English teaching for their children and made sacrifices for this purpose, whereas they were not much concerned about vernacular instruction. They appeared to look down on it and to hold it in contempt. Western culture seemed to be leading the world and its "open sesame" was English. Of course, the writer is fully aware that there is considerable difficulty when one attempts to decide where the fundamental blame lies. It involves the problem of the superimposed culture of the West on the Orient.

In 1875, Mr. Gordon Young of the Civil Service was appointed Director of Public Instruction. His office, with the addition of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, took the place of the old Council of Education. He and his staff had to fight an allergy towards vernacular education. One of the significant moves he made was to set up model vernacular (sometimes called Halliday) schools in the backward districts. He stressed the training of *Gurus*. However, in spite of all efforts, the initial opposition of the populace towards vernacular education persisted.[38]

To continue the comments on scholarships, since the latter were recommended in the Despatches under discussion, it should be noted that up to 1877 there was a sort of competition between Anglo-Vernacular schools and Vernaculars for scholarships. The former used English as the sole medium of instruction. The competition was not for the same scholarships because there were two separate groups of scholarships, and, further, there were separate groups of budget allotments. In 1877 there came an important change. All Middle Schools (roughly those corresponding to the American Junior High) were put on the Vernacular basis. However, within six years, the Director of Public Instruction pointed out that the distinction did not hold. Weak English schools dropped into the Vernacular class, and strong Vernacular schools made their pupils eligible for Middle English scholarships.[39]

Figures on the nineteenth-century Indian schools can be very deceptive, but some can be quoted for what they are worth. In 1877, Stark says, there were 11,462 candidates from 3,110 schools in Bengal, but the final results showed that only 5,246 of the 11,462 pupils had satisfied the examiners. This should be contrasted with 1881, when there were 26,293 candidates from 7,887 schools and 13,951 acquitted themselves with success. The natural conclusion is that, in the four years in question, more than half of the indigenous schools had advanced to the full primary scholarship standard that had been set up.[40]

To turn to the contemporary scene, there is evidence, in 1878, of a lot of rather critical writing against the administration in general, particularly in the vernacular press. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, passed the Vernacular Press Act which aimed at muzzling the expression of Indian sentiment. The Act was extremely distasteful to the educated Indian. Even though it was not invoked in practice, feeling against the Act ran high.

Lord Lytton's term as Viceroy expired, and to the surprise of many in England, the so-called Radical Administration, under Gladstone, which took over from Lord Beaconsfield, appointed Lord Ripon as the new Viceroy in 1882. The fact that Lord Ripon was a Roman Catholic stirred up considerable opposition, but the appointment went through. As events showed, Ripon was very popular with the Indians, and the numerous demonstrations which were made throughout India when he was leaving after having resigned in 1884 definitely proved this.

Vincent Smith's comment might easily be interpreted as biased:

> Although he [Ripon] was in reality a commonplace man of moderate abilities, who had never attained in his own country a reputation higher than that of a steady, experienced official, with hereditary rather than personal claims to cabinet rank, the occasion of his departure aroused the most extraordinary demonstrations of enthusiasm for his person among his Indian admirers who lamented his resignation. Hundreds of addresses were presented to him and his journey from Simla to Bombay

resembled a triumphal procession. It is hardly necessary to add that the attitude of his coutrymen was different.[41]

The reason that Ripon is presented here is that he was the one who introduced the period covered by the next chapter of this study. It was time to make some evaluation of the success that accompanied the carrying out of the injunctions of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859. The General Council of Education in India which had its headquarters in London presented an address to the newly appointed Viceroy, Lord Ripon, begging him to institute an inquiry into education in India.

In his reply, the Viceroy said:

> The Despatch [of 1854] lays down clearly and forcibly the broad lines of the true educational policy for India, and upon these lines it will be my desire to work. . . . It will be my duty when I get out to India, to examine all such matters carefully in the light of the information which will then be at my disposal; but I do not think I shall be guilty of any indiscretion if I tell you even now how much I sympathize with your desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poorer classes. This has been an especial object of interest to me for many years in England; it will not be less so in India.[42]

Lord Ripon repealed the odious Vernacular Press Act shortly after he arrived in India. It had not been put into force in the four years since its enactment. For the time being, reliance was put on a section of the Penal Code which provided penalties for seditious writings. A point of friction for the Indians had been removed. However, Lord Ripon's contribution to education in India is what is significant here.

The new Viceroy had been in India but a few months when he started examining the situation to find out whether there was cause for an inquiry into education. He was soon satisfied that there was definite cause for inquiry, and that, in spite of the injunctions of the Educational Despatches, there was evidence that the education of the masses was not getting its due and that a disproportionate expenditure was made for higher education.

Accordingly, with the hearty concurrence of Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India, Ripon appointed an Education Commission of Enquiry on February 3, 1882, whose "duty should be to inquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable with a view to more completely carrying out the policy laid down therein."[43]

The significance of the findings of the Commission of 1882 (sometimes called the Hunter Commission from the name of the chairman), and its sequel will be the theme of the chapter following. It will describe education in Bengal until the coming of the strong and revolutionary Viceroy, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, perhaps best known for the Polish boundary line that took his name during the troubles with Russia in World War I.

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION FROM THE COMMISSION OF 1882 TO THE REFORMS OF CURZON AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

THE EDUCATIONAL INQUIRY of 1882 was not stimulated merely by Government interest in the success of the policy formulated by the Despatches of 1854 and 1859. The missionaries were the chief complainants against the existing system in 1882 and were the agitators for an inquiry.

The Despatch of 1854 had reiterated the principle of religious neutrality in the Government schools. The missionaries could do little about that. However, by adopting the principle of grant-in-aid, the Despatch gave the missionaries hopes; since they were the only organized bodies in the field of private education, they hoped to make progress through the help of state aid. Then too, the Government had promised to gradually withdraw from higher education and concentrate on primary education. The fact was that the Government was not withdrawing from secondary and higher education. The missionaries insisted that, contrary to the policy formulated in the earlier Despatches, the Government was expending funds on higher education under Government auspices and, consequently, elementary education was suffering.

The missionaries were organized into a General Council on

Education with James Johnston as secretary. It was to a deputation of this Council that Ripon, the newly appointed Viceroy to India, had promised the inquiry into education. The Commission of 1882 was the fulfillment of this promise.[1]

Lord Ripon was determined that the Commission of 1882 would be made up of the best qualified members. Accordingly, he appointed prominent officials and the best known public men in each of the administrative units of British India. Sir William Hunter was appointed President, and so it came about that the Commission is sometimes referred to as the Hunter Commission. Mr. B. L. Rice, who was acting as Director of Public Instruction in Mysore (a native state) and Coorg (a British province), was appointed Secretary.

The Commission was instructed that its duty was to inquire into the manner in which the Despatch of 1854 had been carried out, and further, that methods should be suggested through which the policy of the old Despatch might be more completely carried out. The principles of the old Despatch were definitely to be retained. The Commission was debarred from considering the organization and functioning of the universities, and also from dealing with professional and technical training. The Commission, however, was not excluded from dealing with the Arts Colleges.[2]

Just what was the policy of the Despatch of 1854 briefly? Stark quotes the Parliamentary Blue Book of 1870 as enunciating the policy of the famed Despatch:

> The main object of the Despatch is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all the classes of the people and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses.[3]

The Commission met in Calcutta for the first time on February 18, 1882. The members from each province were constituted into Provincial Committees, and each committee was expected to make a report describing the state of education in its area by March of that same year.

The Bengal Provincial Committee included A. W. Croft as chairman, W. R. Blackett, A. M. Bose, Bhoodeb Mookerjee, Jotendro Mohun Tagore.[4] It is interesting to note family names that figured prominently in the educational development of later years, not only in Bengal but in all India. It was a Mookerjee who became an outstanding historian of India for his work in Calcutta University, and the son of the Tagore on the committee became especially prominent in one of the greatest and most influential educational experiments in Bengal, namely, the Sanniketan at Bolpur.

This present study is concerned with the work of the Bengal Provincial Committee since the area of Bengal is our chief subject-matter. Bengal in 1882 included Bengal proper, as recognized today, besides Bihar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur.

The Bengal Committee in its report pointed to the vast population of 69,536,861, and to the fact that over 90 per cent of the populace lived in villages. This, the Committee said, was far in excess of the requirements of agriculture—there being on an average less than one acre per person. The Committee was thorough in that it related the economic condition of the province to progress in education. The low standard of living was described, and it was duly emphasized that the mass of the people would not even be able to maintain themselves if it were not for the caste guilds and the joint-family system.

In its final assembly in Calcutta, which closed in March, 1883, the Commission marshalled the information it had collected and then formulated its recommendations. The report was voluminous and consisted of more than 600 folio pages besides several almost equally voluminous provincial reports.

A succinct summary of the recommendations of the Commission of 1882 is presented by Shah:

With regard to *indigenous schools,* the Commission recommended that all indigenous schools whether high or low be recognized if they served any purpose of secular education but they desired to see a steady and gradual improvement in these schools and in the training of school-masters. It would appear that the Commission regarded such schools as better than no schools and for this reason wished to encourage them but at the same time their ultimate aim was to bring them to the level of the public school.

Secondary and Collegiate education was to be taken more and more out of the direct control of the Government by the granting of more liberal aid to privately managed schools. They recommended that all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Government schools of secondary education, provided it should not interfere with educational development.

They were most emphatic with regard to *primary education,* recommending that primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues. Again, that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

The duties and powers of *Local Boards* which already existed in all provinces for the management of elementary education were more clearly defined and their conduct was to be regulated by codes to be passed by provincial legislation.

The Commission recommended the system of regulating the *grants-in-aid* according to the results of examinations and also the lessening of the amounts of fees charged. [N.B. Both of these recommendations later proved to have been unwise and hence had to be corrected. Italics are the present writer's.][5]

From the data gathered by the Commission, it is to be noted that indigenous Indian education followed the old, old pattern. Descriptions of boys studying in the *Patshal*as fitted almost exactly what Adam's reports in the significant survey of 1835 had pointed out. In fact, as Stark points out,[6] as late as 1908, such conditions obtained in very many areas.

The Committee admitted some common-sense advantages of the indigenous modes of instruction, but stressed the fact that there was little or no recognition of the Pestalozzian principle which requires due and regular exercise of the external senses for the reception of knowledge. Brute memory got all the exercise. The native teachers, as a rule, were poorly selected and unqualified.

The second point in Shah's summary of the recommendations of the Commission of 1882 concerned secondary and collegiate education, and was to the effect that the Government should endeavor to turn these two areas over to private effort. In Bengal, from 1855 to 1882, English high schools rose from 47 to 209. Only two colleges under private management were founded during that time: Metropolitan Institution (1869), founded by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, and St. Xavier's (1862), in Calcutta, founded by the Belgian Jesuits.[7] The latter college was attended by the great Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

The main result of the Commission's efforts to stimulate the foundation of more high schools and private colleges was that in ten years the total number of pupils in English secondary schools was doubled. In 1882, the total number was 149,233, and in 1892 it was 300,000. The latter figures are for all of India. Taking Bengal alone, since this province led the way in university education, there were 3,000 candidates for matriculation into the university in 1882, and in 1900 there were

6,309. All the latter figures are taken from Siqueira.[8]

Especially in the Bengal Provincial Committee Report, there was considerable discussion on the comparative classification of school systems in Europe and in India. The Committee said a second-grade college should be regarded as the highest form of the secondary school rather than a college. The question, however, was not discussed fully because the Commission was afraid it would be exceeding its province if it made recommendations affecting the university. The most important of the suggestions that the Commission made was its criticism of purely literary courses of study, and its speculation about the courses that would prepare students for industrial or commercial pursuits.[9] This too bordered on the excluded realm, as far as the Commission of 1882 was concerned, of professional schools.

The next point, according to Shah's summary, was the problem of primary education. The fact was that there was really no lack of primary schools, at least in Bengal. The extension and efficiency of the primary educational system, however, had resolved itself largely to a question of funds. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Augustus Thompson, proposed in 1883 to raise the allotment for education to the sum of eighteen lakhs a year. The allotment at the time in Bengal had been eight lakhs.

The Governor, however, was prevented from carrying out his resolution because money suddenly was needed to relieve the distress of multitudes of people suffering from the floods which inundated whole districts when the Ganges and its tributaries got out of control.

Since new funds were not forthcoming, a plan was devised to encourage the better schools at least, and to make the grant-in-aid rules more stringent. In the process, it was foreseen that some schools would be eliminated, or at least suffer considerably. A Resolution in 1883 summarizes this point:

It is not the wish of the Lieutenant Governor [Sir Augustus

> Rivers Thompson] to discourage the establishment of new schools in districts where their number is still small in comparison with the extent of the country and the population; but there can be no doubt that in many districts the development of the system of primary education has already reached, if in some it has not actually exceeded, the limits compatible with sound administration, and it is desirable that in these districts there should be no further extension for some years to come. The consolidation and improvement of existing schools should now be the main object of local officers, and the search for old indigenous schools be generally abandoned.[10]

The orders of the Lieutenant Governor must have been carried out. The increase of primary schools in 1884 was only 1,000 over those of 1883. That was a vast drop over the accustomed increase.[11]

Measures taken in 1886 to improve and to consolidate primary education were threefold: (1) the course of instruction in both lower and upper primary schools was revised so that it became more practically useful for the people for whom the schools existed; (2) every school seeking a reward was required to have a roll of at least ten pupils, to keep attendance and inspection registers, and to have been in existence for not less than six months; (3) the use of printed books in aided schools was made obligatory.[12]

As far as the Recommendations of the Commission of 1882 with regard to primary schools were concerned, there was not much evidence of change on two of the points mentioned above, namely, courses of study and methods of aiding primary schools.

The next point in Shah's summary is Local School Boards, the organization and authority of which were emphasized by the Commission. This recommendation was largely influenced by two Bills, namely, the Bengal Municipal Bill and the Local Self-Government Bill, both of 1882, which recognized the

Panchayat (village board of five) System and tended to extend the scope and importance of these local bodies.

The weakness of the last point in Shah's summary of the Recommendations of the Commission of 1882 is related to the lag between educational experiments in England and those in India. The reference is to the award of grants-in-aid according to results. As was pointed out in the preceding chapter, "payment by results" was found defective as a scheme in England before it was recognized as such in India.

Two recommendations of the Commission of 1882 that were not pointed out in Shah's summary deserve some comment here. These refer to female education and the training of *gurus*.

Witnesses in abundance before the committees that made up the Commission of 1882 bore testimony that there were practical and almost insurmountable difficulties which beset the problem of bringing instruction to Indian girls. Child-marriage was not the least of the obstacles. Parents reckoned that the education of girls had no value and refused to pay any fees. Hindu girls were badly off as far as education was concerned, but among the Moslem girls the situation was so bad that there was practically no education at all, especially among the lower classes in Bengal.

The Commission of 1882 insisted that female education should be considered a legitimate charge on provincial and on local and municipal funds. Mixed schools (boys and girls together) were not recommended. Instruction that was good for boys was not held to be good for girls necessarily.[13] Women teachers were to replace men teachers, and liberal aid-inducements were to be offered to women to qualify as teachers.

The Government of Bengal took exception to one of the Commission's recommendations. It insisted that mixed schools should be encouraged and that such schools agreed with social conditions in Bengal. Further, it insisted that inspecting officers approved of having boys and girls in the school together since it stimulated the progress of both. This discussion, however, was only concerned with situations where the girls were under ten years of age.[14]

The real results of these recommendations can be guessed. Parents did not believe girls needed education. The idea of gradually replacing men by women teachers was not very practical because it was against Hindu sentiment and custom to have young women living independently and teaching. At most, Hindu families would allow it only under the protection of a Christian Mission.

Schools for females lagged, but they received a stimulus in 1893, when a prominent Nepali lady, Tapaswini, established the Mahakali Patshalas for the education of girls in general subjects. She set up the school in Calcutta. The standards of the school were good, and the same type of school was later set up in a number of mofussil towns. Girls' education was mainly in the hands of either the Hitakari Sabha, Mission Schools, or the newly formed Mahakali Patshalas.[15]

Plans that followed for better training of *gurus* did not meet with appreciable success. The Governor General appeared to accept the view of Mr. Bellet, Inspector for schools in 1886, when he said: "It [teacher-training] is not popular. *Gurus* of existing schools do not flock to training classes. On the other hand, the Deputy Inspectors have to hunt for them and compel them to come in. It is not necessary. . . . The average *guru* is capable of teaching his school the three R's even though he may not be very brilliant."[16]

Lord Dufferin took over as Viceroy in 1884, succeeding the popular Lord Ripon who had resigned. The latter had given evidence of interest in local self-government for the Indians. He, together with Sir Courtney Ilbert, the Law Member, even considered a Bill which had as its aim the removal of the disqualification of Indian magistrates for trying European offenders in criminal cases. A furor was created among the white residents of Calcutta, and in the midst of the disturbances, the Viceroy and his Law Member had to withdraw the Bill. The Europeans were turned against Ripon. He resigned. His successor, Lord Dufferin, was qualified for his new task. He had behind him considerable experience as a diplomat both in the Western and Eastern courts. He knew the Oriental, the Government believed.

The founding of the First Indian Congress is the historical event that education influenced—and vice versa. It came about in this way: An Englishman by the name of Allan Octavian Hume published two brilliant pamphlets in India under the titles "'Old Man's Hope" and "The Star in the East." Then, through the help of an Indian, W. C. Bonnerjee, the first Indian National Congress was set up to meet in Bombay in 1885. At first the Congress basked under the official patronage of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, but within two years he and Hume disagreed, and the Viceroy scathingly condemned the Congress, which, as Gokhale says, "first met while still under the influence of the enthusiasm for British Rule, evoked by the great Viceroylate of the Marquis of Ripon . . . the best beloved of India's viceroys."[17]

In a speech delivered in 1888, Lord Dufferin said: ". . . when the Congress was first started, it seemed to me that such a body, if they directed their attention with patriotic zeal to the consideration of these and cognate subjects (sanitation, emigration, establishment of manufacturing industries, social reform, etc.) as similar congresses do in England, might prove of assistance to the government."[18]

The difficulty about the project that had started under Dufferin was that it became a vehicle for nationalism. Bengal was one of the most eager provinces to accept English education, and something came with it. The analysis of the Calcutta Commission Report describes it superbly:

All these thousands of students, two generations of the ablest sons of Bengal, had been taught to study in the English language. Undertaking this study in the first instance because of the practical utility of the language, they had all been forced to drink deeply from the wells of English literature, which is, beyond all others, the literature of liberty. The leaven of the thought of Bacon and Milton, Locke and Burke, Wordsworth and Byron, was working in the minds of Ben- duties which included the management of government pri- gal, whose age-long ideals had been those of submission and self-renunciation, not those of freedom and individual initiative. Such ideas, difficult to assimilate with the traditions of the East, could not but have formidable and often perturbing results. With the political aspects of these results we are not directly concerned. But *political ideas can never be separated from intellectual movements; and the generation after* 1882 *was to see the influence of the new currents of thought powerfully reflected in the development of the educational system.* [Italics are the present writer's.][19]

By 1886, the Local Self-Government Act had taken effect in most districts. District Boards were taking over educational mary and middle schools, both English and vernacular, the control of the grant-in-aid to middle schools under private management and to all primary schools, and also the conduct of the annual examinations for the award of primary scholarships.[20]

Whether this handing over of authority in education to local boards was a good thing or not remained to be seen. Some deplored it at the time it was begun, and expressed serious misgivings. In a few years, serious-minded British officials pointed out the inherent evils with keen arguments. Discipline disintegrated in the system because the local boards too often were incompetent to handle their serious responsibilities with regard to education.

The annexation, in 1886, of Burma, which is in close proximity to Bengal, was not directly related to educational problems except that the statistical figures on India from that time on were often combined with those of Burma, and unless the student is aware of this fact, he is often at a loss to account for changes in numbers. This is especially the case with general government reports. The special Bengal Province reports are not combined with those of Burma. Burma's independence, as a separate charge of Britain, came in the early thirties. She got her complete independence shortly after that of India in 1947.

In 1886, the First Quinquennial Review of Education was drawn up by Sir Alfred Woodley Croft under the instructions of Lord Dufferin. It was a good review of education and presented a summary of very important data.[21]

Gokhale makes much of a resolution that Lord Dufferin issued at the time he passed orders on this report on education. Gokhale was a spirited statesman and a brilliant orator who served as a "gadfly" for the weak spots in British administration. He exposed the fact that money was being spent by the government for many less important causes and withheld from education. The part of Dufferin's resolution which he assailed was:

> The Government of India recognises its responsibility to provide, so far as its means permit, facilities for the education of the people. But in educational, as in other matters, it is the policy of the Government of India to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise. It pioneers the way; but having shown the way, it recognises no responsibility to do for the people what the people can and ought to do for themselves. . . . The Governor General in Council considers that the growth of the share borne by Local Bodies should, for the future, exhibit a more marked increase than it has done since 1885, and that there should be a tendency to decrease rather than to increase in the share which now is defrayed from the public treasury.[22]

In 1889, the Viceroy who succeeded Lord Dufferin was Lord Lansdowne. He uttered an important warning on the educational scene in India: "I am afraid that we must not disguise from ourselves that if our schools and colleges continue to educate the youth of India at the present rate, we are likely to hear even more than we do at present of the complaint that we are turning out every year an increasing number of young men whom we have provided with an intellectual equipment admirable in itself but practically useless to them on account of the small number of openings which the professions afford for gentlemen who have received this kind of education."[23]

Dr. Voelcker came to India in 1889. He was Agricultural Chemist to the Royal Society in England, and came to India on special deputation to advise the Government on questions connected with agriculture. In October, 1890, a conference was held with representatives from all provinces in India to discuss Dr. Voelcker's preliminary report. The group passed a series of resolutions on the educational aspects of the problem:

(1) It is most desirable to extend primary education among the agricultural classes.
(2) As a general rule, instruction in agriculture should be combined with the existing course of education, and should not depend exclusively on separate special institutions.
(3) The science of agriculture should be recognized by the universities.
(4) The elementary principles of agriculture should form a prominent subject in the curriculum of village schools.
(5) Steps should be taken to provide suitable teaching and "readers" for such schools.
(6) The claims of men who have a scientific agricultural training should be freely recognized in the revenue and cognate departments of the public service.
(7) Scientific agriculture should be included among the

subjects for the examination for entry into such departments.

(8) No arrangements for higher agricultural training can be regarded as satisfactory which do not provide for a thoroughly practical training of the students in the field and laboratory, and for examination tests of a special and searching character on the course of practical training.

(9) Education in the lower schools should be of such a practical character as to fit the pupils for technical pursuits, including agriculture, as well as for literary and commercial pursuits.

(10) Textbooks should deal with familiar subjects in simple language, and object lessons should be freely used.

(11) The system of training in normal schools should be adapted to qualify school teachers to give instruction of the character indicated in the eighth resolution.

(12) A committee should be convened in each province to consider the questions raised in the resolutions.[24]

The last four resolutions were added by a second conference. The resolutions looked good on paper and the Government saw fit to put them on official record, but the progress made in carrying them out was far from adequate. In 1901, there were but five institutions in British India, with 219 students, for imparting agricultural education.[25]

An interesting item in Dr. Voelcker's report says: "On one point there can be no question, viz., that the ideas generally entertained in England, and often given expression to even in India, that Indian agriculture is, as a whole, primitive and backward, and that little has been done to try and remedy it, are altogether erroneous. . . . At his best, the Indian Ryot, or cultivator, is quite as good as, and in some respects the superior of, the average British farmer."[26]

This is not the place to continue the discussion of agricultural and practical education further. However, before returning to the Bengal scene in particular, some figures may be cited to show the increase of pupils in schools in India during the years covered by this present chapter. Chamberlain offers the following figures taken from the Quinquennial Reports of the time: In 1882 there were 2,061,541 pupils in the primary schools, and in 1897 there were 3,209,825; in 1882 there were 214,164 pupils in the secondary schools, and in 1897 there were 535,155. In the colleges in 1882, there were 5,897 compared with 18,783 in 1897.[27] These figures do not include pupils in aided schools or those in unaided private schools. However, it is quite evident that the proportion of increase is higher by far in the upper levels of schooling. It is top-heavy. "An inverted-pyramid" is the way critics described it.

To return to the educational system of Bengal, records show that inspection in the schools in 1891 was gradually being taken from the Chief-*Gurus* and handed over to Inspecting *Pandits,* who were Board Servants and drew their salary from the Primary Education Fund. Sub-inspectors were added to assist the regular inspectors of schools. Figures taken from Stark show how *guru* instructors decreased between the years 1885 and 1890. In 1885, there were 192 Sub-Inspectors and 1,653 *guru* Instructors. In 1890, there were 195 Sub-Inspectors and but 933 *guru* Instructors.[28] Much data is wanting, so a more complete list of figures cannot be given.

Since the Moslem proportion of the population is higher in Bengal than in other provinces in India, it is only proper that some comment on the progress of Moslem education in this period be made. Moslem education constantly lagged behind that of the Hindus. This point has been stressed in the present study before. Officials were genuinely concerned about the lag in Moslem education, and tried schemes to make up for the deficiency. The reader is reminded that perhaps the greatest single factor for this backwardness of the Moslems was that the government had from the early thirties committed itself to a policy of neutrality in the teaching of religion in the schools. The Moslems demanded religious instruction for their children. They could not get it in the government schools, so they sent their children to the inferior *maktabs* maintained by *maulvis*. The Koran just had to be studied in school.

In 1891, Sir Alfred Croft, who was the Director of Public Instruction, outlined a comprehensive scheme for the organization and the development of mass education among the Moslems of Bengal. His plan was by means of stipends to encourage the Urdu and Persian courses usually taught in the *maktabs*, provided that some vernacular instruction was imparted.

Croft's plan met with some success because, during the Directorate of Sir Archdale Earle, who succeeded him, the number of *maktabs* increased and some of the *guru* training-schools (ten to be exact) were converted into training-schools for Moslem teachers. Stark[29] discusses Moslem education at some length, and points out that there was a considerable increase in the number of Moslem teachers at the turn of the century.

Sir Charles Elliot was Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1898. He had a special interest in the progress of education in his province, and particularly in primary education. Accordingly, he set up a committee to revise subjects and courses of instruction in vernacular schools of all grades. The Voelcker studies and resolutions no doubt influenced him, and he wanted attention directed towards the needs of the agricultural population of the province of Bengal.[30]

Elliot's scheme was not presented until three years later, and then it was adopted under the title of the Vernacular Scheme. There were many merits claimed for the plan. The chief one was that it aimed not to alienate the child from his environment. The latter was the common result of most education under government auspices up to that time. However, the project had weaknesses. It suggested that there be provision for textbooks without making allowance for the fact that there was variation in vernaculars in various areas. Furthermore, the spirit of the new scheme was foreign to the primary school *gurus* who were to do the teaching.

More will be said about the Vernacular Scheme in the next chapter. The appointment of Lord Curzon, the Earl of Kedleston, as Viceroy in 1899 was the beginning of a new era in more fields than that of education, as the next chapter will show.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION FROM CURZON IN 1899 TO THE DURBAR OF 1912 AND THE MOVING OF INDIA'S CAPITAL

Western culture sometimes shows a spurt of exaggerated activity. This tendency is manifested in some leaders who are urgently efficient, and nervously demand immediate action on all problems. The average Oriental instinctively resents this characteristic of some Westerners. Possibly this was part of the conflict that Kipling had in mind when he wrote: "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

In 1899 Lord Curzon of Kedleston took over as Viceroy of India. He was a man of action and efficiency. The British Government considered him well prepared for the tasks of his office. His experience included years in British Foreign Offices, and also work in the India Office in London.

Critics of Curzon say that he had the characteristics of a former Viceroy of India, Lord Dalhousie. The latter tried to jostle the Orient. But the Orient hates to be jostled. As Viceroy, Dalhousie irritated the native princes or maharajahs. Their temper was aroused against him. Smith says that even though every one of the escheats, lapses, and annexations which marked the eight years of Lord Dalhousie's reign could be justified by sound arguments and the general principles enunciated by the Government Office in England, his pace of introducing reforms was too quick. The cumulative effect of Dalhousie's moves was unsettling. Lord Canning, who succeeded Dalhousie, had a violent mutiny to quell immediately after he assumed office.[1]

Curzon pushed through reforms and made changes with an insistence and urgency that might be commendable and desirable in the West but which irked the people of the East. The reign of Lord Curzon, which lasted a scant seven years, had results similar to that of Lord Dalhousie. The Earl of Minto who succeeded him had to contend with serious disturbances. One big difference in the results of the policies of Curzon and Dalhousie was that the difficulties instigated by Curzon were not widespread. They were centralized in Bengal. They were bitter, and, as the latter part of this chapter shows, it took the King to settle the seething conflict in Bengal.

Curzon contributed much to the development of the educational pattern in Bengal, and, by the example of that province, to all of India. However, Indians find it hard to evaluate Curzon objectively. This is especially the case in Bengal. Few can distinguish the personality of the man from his ultimate accomplishments.

An Indian writer describes Curzon as follows: "By temperament he was a benevolent autocrat, and by training a diehard imperialist with implicit faith in a strong rule. He was also the arch-priest of centralization and efficiency."[2]

Just what were conditions like as far as education in India was concerned when Curzon took over as Viceroy? The Seventh Quinquennial Review of the Government describes it thus: "The period from 1897 to 1902 is the most stagnant in the annals of Indian education; the increase of pupils was small, the number of institutions declined. The time was one of calamity—two severe famines and a widespread epidemic of plague."[3]

The first major incident of note in Curzon's reign was the conference he called in 1901. It met in Simla in the Punjab, high in the Himalayas. Simla was the summer home and office of the Viceroy during the hot season on the plains.

The main purpose of this conference, according to Stark,[4] was to consider the system of basing financial aid to schools on results achieved by its pupils at certain examinations. The grant-in-aid code then in force brought about the following condition: the more students (percentage of the enrollment) of a given middle school that passed the matriculation examinations, the more aid that school got from the government.[5]

A change was made. The results-grant system of payment was replaced by a system of payment in which attendance, buildings, circumstances of the locality, qualifications of the teachers, nature of instruction, and outlay from other sources were taken into account. Further, the remuneration of the *guru* teacher took the form of subsistence allowances, which were paid quarterly, and a separate allowance, which was withheld and paid at the end of the year. Local boards and inspecting officers were to decide the grant-in-aid under the new scheme. As is evident, the plan was complicated and left a lot of room for individual interpretation. The new policy did not work well, as was shown by the fact that the rules for subsistence and allowances had to be modified ten years later. The greatest difficulty was that money was not always available, and payments could not be made promptly.[6]

The previous chapter made note of the fact that Charles Elliot, who was governor of Bengal in 1898, set up a committee to evaluate teaching practices in vernacular education. The committee elaborated a scheme which finally was introduced under Curzon's direction as the Vernacular Education Scheme of 1901. It included a Froebelian element in that in the teaching of the lower primary classes, object lessons were used, based on everyday experiences of village life.[7]

The evaluation of the new scheme was varied. The Government Resolution putting it into effect said that it was shaped by two main considerations, namely, that the child's earliest education should be through a familiar language medium, and that education should not alienate the child from his natural environment. The difficulty of the whole plan which was introduced in Bengal in 1901 was that the teachers did not have the spirit of the method of Froebel, and, furthermore, the Bengali parent had the idea that the child should begin to prepare for matriculation examinations from his earliest days.[8]

However, the system was given a good try. Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal at the time, ventured to say: "They [the *guru* teachers] will teach badly but the teaching cannot be worse than the present mechanical system of training the memory with parrot-like exercises. Bad teaching with a good educational system will produce better results than bad teaching with a bad and unsound system."[9]

Since this Vernacular Scheme of 1901 contained many subjects that were not familiar to teachers assigned to primary schools, training schools were set up. Even Deputy and Sub-Inspectors were made to attend training schools for six weeks. The aim was to give them some insight into the handling of classes, nature study, and the like. However, the plan did not work well. The officials of the training schools considered these new students as intruders into their courses. The experiment did not result in ultimate failure, however; the big training colleges of Calcutta, Dacca, and Bankipore eventually developed as a result of this policy.[10]

The final result of the scheme was that it was ignored in all save government schools and others dependent on grants. Elsewhere, English was taught from the infant classes upwards. The lower classes of the government schools were depleted or ceased to exist. The children were sent to inferior secondary schools where the vernacular was not in use.[11] Conditions were generally bad. There was dire need of change.

Curzon was interested in a centralized policy and planned action. Part of his speech to the committee called together in Simla in 1901 is as follows:

> Is there an educational policy of the Government of India at all? If so, is it observed, and what is the machinery by which it is carried out? Is there any due supervision of this vast and potent engine of creative energy, or, after its furnace has been fed, are the wheels left to go round, and the piston rod to beat, without control? I cannot answer these questions as I should wish. There seems to me to be a misdirection, and in some cases, a waste of force, for which I cannot hold the Government free from blame. I observe a conflict of systems which finds no justification in the administrative severance, or in the local conditions, of separate provinces and areas. In the praiseworthy desire to escape centralization at headquarters we appear to have set up a number of petty kingdoms. . . .[12]

Curzon's conference at Simla was regarded with suspicion by Indians. It was a secret affair. Indian representatives were not invited. Everyone was aware that some new policy on education was being formulated. Many feared that the aim was to restrict education, and to nip rising nationalism in the bud since it was nourished by education.[13]

Suspicions seemed to find verification. In 1902, as a result of the conference, Curzon instituted a new office, the holder of which was known as the Director-General of Education. It looked like an attempt to centralize education. However, the fear was misplaced. The new officer had no executive powers. He was only an adviser to the Government.[14]

Another move of Curzon's which stirred up bad feeling was the appointment of the University Commission in 1902. Reform was in order. That was recognized by most thinking Indians. At the time there were five Universities, two others (Allahabad and the Punjab) having been added in 1887 and 1882 respectively to the original three (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras) which had been set up in 1857. They were not working efficiently, as was evident in practice. However, Curzon's initial blunder in setting up a commission to investigate and make suggestions was that in the appointment of the commission he did not include the names of any Indian representatives. As a sort of afterthought, when he became aware of the hurt feelings of the people, he included two prominent Indians, but the damage had been done. The natives assumed that the University Commission would be a closed affair like the Simla Conference.[15]

It was unfortunate that the Commission of 1902 did not meet later than that year. The old lag between policy in England and policy in India obtained again. The Commission of 1902 assumed that the affiliating system was all right, its only aim was to make the current system more efficient. But the fact was that a radical change was taking place in England. Those features of the changes in England that were really important hardly affected the Commission of Curzon in 1902.[16]

The purpose of the University Commission of 1902 was formulated thus:

> To inquire into the conditions and prospects of the Universities established in British India, to consider and report upon any proposals which have been or may be made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend to the Governor-General in Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching and to promote the advancement of learning.[17]

It becomes evident from the above purpose of the Commission that it did not aim to reconstruct the system of the Universities. It only aimed to rehabilitate and strengthen the existing system. The Commission submitted its report in the same year (1902)—a long and technical document. Just as the Commission of 1882 had nothing to do with university reform, this Commission had nothing to do with secondary education.

In a sense, then, the two commissions supplemented one another.

The recommendations of the Commission fall into five main categories:

(1) The reorganization of university government.
(2) A much more strict and systematic supervision of the colleges by the University, and the imposition of more exacting conditions of affiliation.
(3) A much closer attention to the conditions under which students live and work.
(4) The assumption of teaching functions by the University within defined limits.
(5) Substantial changes in curricula, and in the methods of examination.[18]

In 1904, Curzon, together with his council, published the University Act of that date. In general principle, this Act embodied the first, second, and fourth of the groups of recommendations made by the Commission of 1902. The third and fifth recommendations were taken care of by detailed regulations drawn up by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee and a small committee appointed for the purpose.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904, in brief, covers seven points according to Nurullah. These are:

(1) The functions of the University are enlarged.
(2) The University Senates are cut down to manageable size. [Not fewer than 50 nor more than 100. The University of Calcutta in Bengal at the time had 181 Fellows.]
(3) It increased the number of Fellows to be elected. [Twenty Fellows were to be elected at the University of Calcutta, a definite increase over the previous figure.]
(4) Syndicates were given statutory recognition and University teachers on syndicates were given adequate representation.

(5) Stricter conditions were provided for affiliating colleges to the University, including inspection.
(6) The Government was vested with powers regarding the regulations framed by the University Senate.
(7) The Governor General in Council was empowered to define the territorial limits of the Universities.[19]

Indian public opinion opposed the Indian Universities Bill that preceded the Act of 1904. The most powerful leader of the opposition, perhaps, was Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who was then a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He inveighed against it in speech after speech. He even suggested that Calcutta University be reformed and that his home province university, that of Bombay, be left alone.[20] Finally he pronounced a doleful dirge when he saw that the Act would be passed in spite of his opposition. He ended a famous speech with: ". . . there can be no doubt but that the work done in this council chamber will be regarded with sorrow all over the country for a long time to come."[21]

Most of the fears over the dangers threatened by the Universities Act of 1904 were proved to be groundless. Some, including Mr. Gokhale, feared that the whole thing was a scheme to suppress the development of Indian private enterprise. Indian critics were certain that the senates of the various universities would have a predominance of Europeans. The fact was that more Indians were appointed and elected than had been in the past. The University of Calcutta had forty Europeans and forty-three Indians.[22] It was this latter fact more than any other that reconciled Indian opinion to the Act. Later analysis of the Act showed that it was primarily an administrative measure. Its avowed aim was to make the universities more efficient. In this it succeeded. It made affiliation by colleges more difficult. Weaker institutions had to drop out. But this did not mean a setback in college education. The number of students increased steadily. Liberal grants-in-aid from the government and endowments from private individuals all aided in improving collegiate instruction. However, basically, the system of university education had not been touched. There is no doubt that the Indian Universities became "the most completely governmental universities in the world."[23]

The Act of 1904 empowered universities to provide teaching in their own name and under their own management besides the accustomed examining function. This part of the Act was the first step towards a more important object, namely, that the universities become teaching bodies by law. However, the old tradition of merely examining was strong. Not much evolved immediately even though the university could directly carry on post-graduate teaching and research now. The Act was not really exploited for its worth until Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee took a hand. He had been chairman of the committee that drew up the regulations to take care of the recommendations of the Commission of 1902 that were not directly provided for in the Act of 1904. Now, he began to encourage the development of teaching and research facilities in Calcutta University. Setting an excellent example, he became one of the most outstanding scholars of Bengal and the University of Calcutta in modern times.[24]

It was at this time that one of the most outstanding experiments in education was begun in India at a place called Bolpur about a hundred miles north of Calcutta in Bengal. It is usually referred to as Visva-Bharati or, more commonly, Santiniketan. The founder was Rabindranath Tagore, Nobel Prize winner for literature and one of Bengal's most illustrious sons. What is distinctive and original about Santiniketan is Tagore's idea of a private university for the whole of India. There, Indian culture would be taught, Indian manners and customs respected. A simple life was to be led in common by teachers and pupils in a place remote from the noise and distractions of the town.

A visitor writes:

> The lie of the premises and grounds of Santiniketan recalls a picture of the old hermitage-schools of ancient India; the subjects for study comprise Letters and Music and Fine Arts with philosophic and historic researches thrown in; the body of teachers are quite cosmopolitan in character. Natural development, sensitiveness to beauty, comradeship between teacher and learner, out-door classes and avocations and excursions—the overflow of school effort into the social life of the villages round about, are all here—a joyful, vital, natural educing of character and talent—the other antipodes of the officialized routine-prescription.[25]

The Bulletin of 1924[26] describes the library of Tagore's school as having about 23,000 volumes. At the time there were perhaps 150 pupils, including boys and girls, but with the former in far larger proportion.[27] The school has kept itself aloof from government supervision and influence. It has become a complete college in Arts, and sends students up for examinations in the University. The death of its founder, Rabindranath Tagore, in 1941, has deprived Santiniketan of its very soul. The coming years will show how far Tagore's idea has been caught up by his successors.[28]

Another experimental school is "Boys' Own Home" in Cossipore near Calcutta. Rewachand Animananda founded it in 1904 and was its principal till his death. The *guru* teacher is a father to the boys. A direct, Socratic method is used. Sir Michael Sadler called it "one of the most interesting in existence."

Besides the Universities Act of 1904, Curzon published his educational policy in the form of a Government Resolution. It contains a penetrating analysis of the defects of the existing system of education. Its main points as summarized by Basu merit quotation here:

> The short-comings of the present system in point of quantity are well known. Four out of five villages are without a

> school. Three boys out of four grow up without education and only one girl in forty attends any kind of school. In point of quality, the main charges brought against the system are: (1) that the higher education is pursued with too exclusive a view to entering government service; that its scope is thus unduly narrowed and that those who fail to obtain employment under the government are ill-fitted for other pursuits; (2) that excessive prominence is given to examinations; (3) that the courses of study are too purely literary in character; (4) that the schools and colleges train the intelligence of the students too little and their memory too much, so that mechanical repetition takes the place of sound learning, and (5) that in the pursuit of English education the cultivation of the vernaculars is neglected.[29]

A practical result was that Curzon demanded and got more money for primary education and improved the policy.[30] An event occurred at this time that indirectly influenced India, and in particular, Bengal, since it was in that province that enthusiasm for the supposedly superior Western culture and learning was most manifest. In the Russo-Japanese War (1904), Japan won important concessions from Russia. It was a complete surprise to the Indians, who considered the Western powers, especially such a large one as Russia, quite invincible. Now Indians began to think more effectively in terms of a nationalism which would demand eventual independence from the ruling British.

An evident display of the interest that Indians had in Japan was the fact that they took to studying the Japanese system of education in order to ascertain its strong points. A Government Report on the Japanese system was published. Indian students went to Japan. Occasional Report Number 3, entitled "The Educational System of Japan," was published by the government in Calcutta in 1906. It is comprehensive, and describes contrasts and analogies between India and Japan.[31]

In the minds of Indians, Curzon is usually associated with the partition of Bengal in 1905. The move provoked intense and passionate hostility in Calcutta and throughout Bengal, where a cry was raised that the Bengali nation was being maliciously torn asunder. However, the Viceroy had no mind to stir up trouble. Indian reaction was just an accumulation of opposition to his centralizing and quick-moving changes. The partition idea had been discussed by Curzon's subordinates in 1901 when the question of rearranging provincial boundaries was proposed. In 1903, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal suggested that his burden be lightened. Curzon visited Eastern Bengal and recognized that the area was neglected and financially starved. Together with his council, the Viceroy drew up plans for a partition which would unite Eastern Bengal and Assam in one unit and Bengal proper, which included Bihar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur, in another. The scheme was sanctioned and the different Secretaries of State declared the decision was final.[32] Dacca and Chittagong went with the Eastern part of Bengal, which was predominantly Moslem. Politically-minded Indians insisted that Curzon was trying to align the Moslems against the Hindus. They were sure they could recognize the old policy of "divide and conquer."

A direct result of the partition was the country-wide agitation which burst forth as the "*Swadeshi* Movement." The basic ideas behind this national movement were the boycott of foreign goods and the use of homemade (*Swadeshi*) goods. The movement had some good effects in that it created a demand for technical and industrial education. Curzon himself had recognized a need for more technical education in his Resolution of 1904.

Another movement was associated with events of the time that irritated the Government. Students were drawn into politics. Curzon issued an official circular forbidding students from joining political meetings and threatening dire punishment. The provocative circular aroused the Bengali students more than ever. In fact, the ill-fated circular stirred up a demand for nationalistic education. Highly regarded leaders took part in the move for national education, including Rabindranath Tagore. The National Council of Education was founded by the Indians, and a National College was established in Calcutta besides a Technical Institute. National schools sprang up all over the province, and students flocked to them. However, the whole movement died down eventually, and the only thing that finally survived was the Technical Institute in Calcutta.[33]

In the midst of all the agitation, Curzon resigned. He had gotten into a bitter controversy with Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Indian Forces. The Secretary of State for India in England supported Kitchener, and Curzon refused to continue as Viceroy. This was in August, 1905. His successor was Lord Minto, who found himself in a seething situation. Right after arriving in India, the new Viceroy had to accept the resignation of the Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and had to contend with uprisings on all sides.[34] Lord Minto as Viceroy, and Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India, began to think of some constitutional reforms to quell the agitation and satisfy Indian demands stimulated by the rise of nationalism.

Another historical event which had an influence on the educational pattern of Bengal was the formation of the Moslem League in 1906 by the more educated and wealthy Moslems to protect their economic interests. The Indian Congress, which had been formed in 1885, aimed to include both Hindus and Moslems but, in fact, was predominantly Hindu. It never did take the "India for Hindus" stand of the extremist Mahasabha which organized several decades later.[35] The Moslem League had Lord Minto's approval as an organized group to advise the government. In this same year, 1906, the Indian Congress, for the first time, laid down *Swaraj* (self-rule) as the ideal.

In 1909 the Morley-Minto Reforms were promulgated. They were in reality the first essential modification of the colonial status of British India. They extended suffrage to a limited number of Indians. Elected members were admitted to the advisory councils and an Indian was on the Viceroy's council of seven. An Indian was also placed on each of the advisory councils in the Provinces. The reforms provided safeguards for Moslems. Politically, the policy of separate electorates encouraged group feeling among Moslems. Militarily, these reforms assured the loyalty of the Moslem community.[36]

Against this background of turbulent developments in the political world of India, the educational pattern suffered ups and downs. Criticism against Government was never lacking. The agitation against the partition of Bengal continued, and finally plans were formulated in England for a reversal of the partition of Bengal.

The Morley-Minto Reforms, as Lord Minto, the Viceroy, had cautioned Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, were in no way advocating "representative government for India in the Western sense of the term."[37] The Indians were keen enough to recognize that. But to avoid another mutiny, the Government had to make a move that would restore at least the semblance of good will.

Much of the bitter criticism of the partition scheme of Lord Curzon was perhaps valid. However, a great deal of good came out of the partition. The Eastern half of Bengal had been rather backward in contrast to the rest of the Province. Now it had autonomy, and the pride of the administrators and the people made them all set about improving their area both economically and educationally. So it came about that the government of the newly-formed province of Eastern Bengal and Assam seized upon the scheme of Panchayat Union schools (Local board managed schools), and made them the central point in a system of popular education. Each Panchayat Union was to have a primary school in the scheme. In a comparatively short time, there were 4,700 such unions formed.[38]

In Western Bengal, the Vernacular Scheme described in the first part of this chapter faced a shortage of teachers. The originators of the Vernacular Scheme hit upon the monitor system of using pupil teachers. Apparently they were unaware of the fact, or had forgotten, that the monitor system had never flourished in Bengal. It had been utilized in Madras years before, and it was from Madras that Bell got his ideas of using such a system (older students teaching the younger ones and thereby aiding the teacher) in the factory schools of England. In Bengal, the scheme did not prove a success. Madras is not Bengal. There was no tradition for the scheme, and the work of teaching just fell upon one teacher who could not carry the load.[39]

Shortly after he assumed the office of Viceroy vacated by Lord Curzon in 1905, Lord Minto issued an elaborate Minute on the Decay of Learning in India.[40] It was incisive and penetrating. Lord Curzon had done the same in the Resolution he issued on education in 1904. However, learned analyses of the backward conditions and the evils of the educational system in India, and in particular in Bengal, were not the need of the day. What was really needed was a workable plan to better conditions.

By the Universities Act of 1904, the conditions for recognizing secondary schools and colleges were tightened considerably. The effect was felt and some improvement was made. However, as Siqueira says, the number of private and even unaided schools increased everywhere because of an unwarranted enthusiasm for education after the turn of the century. In Bengal especially, the unaided schools were far more numerous than in the other provinces. The Director of Public Instruction in the Eastern part of the Province complained of the "unnecessary multiplication of high schools."[41]

The great evil was the low quality of so many of the high schools (venture schools would be a better title in many cases).

At this time, 1907, an important development with regard to female education took place in Eastern Bengal. The Female Education Committee, a permanent body, was established and ordered to meet annually and, furthermore, to report to the government whenever it might be consulted on the education of girls. As one of the educators reported: "In addition to the formulation of large projects for the expansion and reform of girls' schools of all grades, the attention of this committee during the years was directed to the inspection of schools, the discussion and prescription of better methods of teaching, the improvement of individual institutions, and the encouragement of study among girls and women by the formation of ladies' committees and the introduction of zenana (privately, at home) teaching."[42]

The government, too, established Peasant Girls' Schools in 1910. These were intentionally set up in the more remote villages, and were put under the supervision of the Divisional Inspector. There was some success with the plan. However, these plans were rather ambitious considering the general apathy of the peasants towards female education. As a quoted report in Stark says: "They were set up to approach a class of people who are usually averse to female education, and who have not hitherto been affected to any appreciable extent by the ordinary schools so far as female education goes."[43]

A final word on the old Circle School System is in place here. By 1911 the system was considered to be out-moded and to have served its purpose because the lower-primary school in many so-called Circles comprised the center and also the circumference of the Circle. Its neighbors had risen to be upper-primary and even middle-vernacular and middle-English schools. Accordingly, orders were formally issued in 1911 abolishing the Circles and making suitable provision for Circle-

Pandits who were pensionable government officers to coordinate the school functions.[44]

As to the universities, in the years that followed the departure of Lord Curzon, there was a demand for Western education in these institutions in spite of the fact that there were widespread outcries against the education that was causing so much unemployment. The Central Government tried to meet this demand, which was perhaps much keener in Bengal than elsewhere, and voted ample grants of money for university education. In 1910, education was transferred by the Central Government Office from the Home Department of the Government of India to a new Department of "Education, Health, and Lands." The Honorable Mr. Gokhale, in a series of speeches on the improvement of government plans for education, was foremost in stimulating the change.[45] His real plan was to further primary education.

Mere literacy, as most educators will admit, does not necessarily guarantee the improvement of a given group of people; however, it is one way of measuring a level of education. In his excellent study of literacy in India, Parulekar enthusiastically quotes a speech of Gokhale, the orator, to the effect that "the primary purpose of mass education is to banish illiteracy from the land. The quality of education is a matter of importance that comes only after illiteracy has been banished."[46]

Many would argue that there is danger in Parulekar's stand, especially if one takes the view that the acquisition of the skills of reading and writing is identical with the acquisition of education.

The reason why literacy is considered at this time is that the Indian Census of 1911 adopted a different definition of literacy than was accepted in 1901 and earlier. After 1911, literacy meant the ability to write a letter to a friend and to read the answer to it. In 1901, the term meant merely the ability to read and write without specifying any degree of proficiency.[47]

In 1911, what figures are available show that the number of persons per 1,000 who were literate in Bengal was about 140. This compares favorably with the province of Madras, and is only surpassed by that of Coorg in South India.[48]

In 1910, Lord Minto resigned as Viceroy. His successor was Lord Hardinge. The next year, the Secretary of State for India wrote to the Governor General in Council in India that the King-Emperor and the Queen would be in India that year, and instructed him as to what would be decreed. Dumbell's records attest to this letter.[49]

The changes effected by King George V and the Queen during their visit to India are well described by Ray:

> At the special Durbar held on December 12, 1911, where the King was crowned Emperor of India, the *annulment of the Partition of Bengal* was announced through the lips of the Sovereign. The official scheme of this announcement involved, according to Lord Hardinge's Government, two equally momentous changes. Assam was taken out of Bengal and reconverted into an independent province, with a Chief Commissioner at its head. The districts of Eastern and Western Bengal were amalgamated and placed under one Governor and Executive Council. The districts of Bihar and Orissa, with Sambalpore and Chota Nagpur thrown in, were taken out of the old Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal and placed under a Governor and a Council with the title of Bihar and Orissa; Calcutta retained its position as the capital of the diminished province of Bengal, but *lost its dignity as the capital of the Empire*. Lord Hardinge, to placate Moslem sentiment, reconverted Delhi into the headquarters of the Government of the Empire on the one side, and promised a new university at Dacca (which had been the administrative city of Eastern Bengal) for the special development of Moslem culture on the other. [Italics are the present writer's.][50]

Lord Carmichael was brought from Madras province to be the new and first Governor of the newly united Bengal. He was a tactful head of the administration. He began to make ambitious plans for domestic reform, including education, since his province was to get its due share from the Rs. 50,-00,000 which His Majesty the King assigned to popular education at his Coronation in 1911.[51] The year 1912 ushered in a new era for India with its capital at Delhi.

A new Bengal, a full-blown province, independent of the residence and workings of the central government, came into being for the first time since the British had taken over India. Ray seems to agree fully with the description of the new province as it appeared in a newspaper of that time:

> . . . It has been truly observed that Bengal, as now constituted, differs more from most other Indian provinces than they differ from one another. Economic, temperamental, and social causes account for this difference. Caste is less powerful; a common literary language unites over forty million Bengalis. Even the Moslem community, who form a narrow majority of the population, are indisputably less divided both socially and politically from their Hindu countrymen than they are in other parts of India. The Bengali temperament, at once calculating and emotional, critical and enthusiastic, baffles other Indians almost as much as it puzzles British administrators. . . .[52]

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATION IN BENGAL FROM THE DURBAR OF 1912 TO THE DYARCHY GOVERNMENT OF 1921

The year 1912 was the beginning of a new political era for Bengal. It was, in fact, a great change for the whole of India, with its newly constituted and spaciously housed offices of government in the new capital in New Delhi.

As for education, the general attitude of the Government was expressed in the following reply of His Majesty the King to the address presented by the Calcutta University on January 6, 1912:

> It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart.[1]

How did the vital political change affect the educational pattern of Bengal in the Lower Ganges? The removal of the capital from Calcutta to New Delhi, of course, as a loyal son of Bengal says, ". . . at once removed Bengal from its place as the premier province of the Empire, as it removed the Central Government from contact with the most vocal and influential public opinion in the country. . . . But what Calcutta lost as an Imperial City, Bengal gained as a compact province and the home of a homogeneous people."[2]

No doubt there was some wounded pride in the mind of the Bengali of 1912, and the removal of the Central Government also took away many readily accessible government jobs. Yet, on the other side of the shield, the burden of housing the Central Government officials and the concomitant strain on local facilities for travel and communication were removed. Bengal now was separate and independent. It was free, insofar as any area that was duly constituted in India under the British at that time was free, to work out its own destiny. As was to be expected, there were problems connected with the reunion of the Western and Eastern parts of Bengal which Curzon had created in his ruthless partition. Yet, the new Bengal had an opportunity to concentrate on her own local problems.

What was characteristic of the educational pattern of Bengal in 1912? As is to be expected, the figures for the two parts of Bengal during the existence of partition (1905 to 1912) were recorded separately. In the Sixth Quinquennial Review of Education in India[3] the following figures are available:

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION DATA ON PARTITIONED BENGAL

	Pupils at School		*Percentage of Total Population*
Province	*1907*	*1912*	*1912*
Bengal	1,269,000	1,610,000	2.9
Eastern Bengal and Assam	816,000	1,075,000	3.1

Province		*Total Amount Spent on Education* *1907*	 *1912*
Bengal	Rs.	1,16,63,468	1,72,02,434
Eastern Bengal and Assam	Rs.	51,24,074	80,46,361

It is significant that, in sheer numbers, the province of Bengal, even without the addition of Eastern Bengal, surpassed all other provinces of India both as to the number of pupils in school and as to the amount spent on education. However, the percentage of increase both in the number of pupils and in amount of money spent on education suffered when contrasted with most other provinces during the period of five years recorded above.

This top-heaviness of Indian education was evident in 1912. From the point of view of mass education, India was behind most countries. The census of 1911 for India, however accurate it may be with regard to literacy, showed that but 5.9 per cent of the people were literate. Yet the case was very different with regard to higher education, especially that of a literary type. These literacy figures were taken from the Seventh Quinquennial Review of Education in India.[4] To substantiate the comment on higher education, the following is taken from the same report:

> . . . The percentage of those who are receiving university education is not to be despised. Still more is this the case where a single tract like Bengal is concerned. The percentage of those under university education to the population in that presidency is 0.05% which is equal to Paulsen's [a statistical authority for Germany and countries of like conditions] figure and almost equal to the figure for the United Kingdom in 1912; and, if the female population of Bengal [since so few women were in any schools] be excluded, it is 0.097% [which is in excess of Britain's record].[5]

To continue the comparison between the United Kingdom and Bengal with numbers rather than percentages, a section of the Calcutta University Commission Report (1917) is quoted:

> The population of the two countries is almost the same, about 45 million. By a curious coincidence the number of students preparing for university degrees is almost the same, about 26,000. But in Bengal only about one in ten of the population can read and write. The proportion of the educated classes of Bengal who are taking full-time university courses is almost ten times as great as in the United Kingdom.[6]

Now, to turn from the description of education on the university level and to continue the delineation of the picture of lower education in Bengal in 1912, official figures show that schools in that province were far from being a rarity in any section. In Western Bengal, a school served every 3.4 square miles. In Eastern Bengal, there was one for every 6.3 square miles. In the whole of India, one school served 10.2 square miles. The average enrollment in a primary school at this time was 31 in West Bengal and 40 in East Bengal.[7]

As Nurullah points out, quoting a Resolution at this time, the multiplication of schools was not so urgent a problem as increasing attendance and improving the qualifications of the teacher.[8]

Another significant set of figures on Bengal at this time (1907-12) is available:

> The condition of things is far more serious in the Bengals than elsewhere. There the number of schools is enormous (there are 1,974 schools (secondary) with 297,037 pupils, being 68.5 and 58.3%, respectively, of the totals for India) and a very small average grant is all that available funds can permit. Of some 88,000 pupils who appear annually to enter the secondary schools only 16,351 pass the final examination and only 2,742 graduate.[9]

Reference has been made, in the preceding chapter, to the Panchayat System (local School Board scheme) of manning schools, used with considerable success in Eastern Bengal during the partition period. When Eastern Bengal was reunited with the Western area in 1912, there were at least 2,000 Panchayat Unions with upper-primary schools, and 1,100 Unions with lower-primary schools. Of these, about 1,600 Unions were still in the process of providing schools.[10]

Meanwhile, in the western districts of Bengal, little had been done to develop a board school managing system. The example of Eastern Bengal and its successes was not lost. Proposals were made to extend the Panchayat Union scheme to Western Bengal. However, the progressive schemes of the new governor of united Bengal, Lord Carmichael, were frustrated before he was well planted in his new office. The European War (World War I) broke out and Indian educational progress was checked.[11] There was a necessity for retrenchment on all sides, and the proposed project of making a geographical distribution of primary schools in newly united Bengal had to be held in abeyance till the war was over. Helping the Allies in the war became the principal preoccupation of the upper classes, especially, of the Indian people.

Stark makes reference to a development in the problem of inspecting the schools at this time (1912). He says that Assistant Sub-Inspectors were appointed to help make the task of inspecting schools easier. The appointments did not bring relief. There was added thereby just one more anomaly in the chain of inspecting agents. Many of the newly appointed individuals were ignorant of English, and unfitted even to correspond with the Central Office of Education in Bengal. Finally a decision was made to reduce the number of Inspectors as the number of schools with trained *gurus* increased.[12] In other words, responsible teachers were being trained according to the plan, and these latter were given more responsibility and less check-up from inspectors. Solutions to problems of this type that were dictated by the exigencies of the moment and mere expediency were, at best, stop-gaps.

Before describing the developments of 1912, brief reference must be made to two important men from the Maratha country near Bombay. Both were so influential in shaping Central Government Policy in education that indirectly they left their mark on the pattern of Bengal too. These two are Tilak and Gokhale, both Fergusson College men. The latter is not unknown to these pages. His speeches against Curzon's Universities Acts in 1904 were described in the last chapter.

In 1910, Gokhale, the founder of the Servants of India Society, composed of Indians who dedicated their lives to the improvement of the health and education of India, was pleading for universal compulsory primary education. His first Bill was shelved, but in 1911 he presented another Bill with an historic plea for universal compulsory education.[13] Gokhale's Bill was defeated on the grounds that it was unnecessary, premature and unworkable.[14] However, the Government of India promised more grants to local bodies for the encouragement of primary education, and urged the provincial governments (including Bengal) to pay more attention to primary education. The progress of universal compulsory education in Bengal proper is discussed in the next chapter.

Gokhale died a politically disillusioned man, but he is remembered with reverence and affection by all the provinces of India. His work was carried on with more success by Patel, particularly in Bombay.

Tilak was a more violent man than Gokhale. Through his speeches and his paper, *Kesari,* he strove with vigor until his death in 1920 to educate and to agitate and to organize. He pushed universal free and compulsory education not only for boys but for girls too.[15]

Universal compulsory education on the primary level got attention elsewhere in India. Reference must be made to the progressive state of Baroda near Bombay. Under an enlightened maharajah, that state set a brilliant example in education for the whole of India. The state already had a workable system of universal compulsory education in 1907. Pandya's doctoral dissertation describes the Baroda plan and its influence in India.[16] Comparison of progress in states and provinces in India tends to be odious. However, reference cannot be made to Baroda alone, since Coorg, Travancore, and Cochin in South India, and others also have set a progressive example for the whole of India.

The Government had turned down Mr. Gokhale's Bill, but it could not ignore entirely the growing popular demand for the spread of mass education. The grant of a large sum of money for popular education at the Durbar of King George in 1912 has been mentioned. In 1913, under the viceroyship of Lord Hardinge, a Government Resolution on educational policy was issued. It laid down principles for the expansion and improvement of primary education. Specific reference was made to Bengal, where there was a crying need for quality rather than quantity of schools and teachers.

Stark presents an adequate summary of the rather wordy Resolution, and is quoted here:

> (1) Subject to the principle that the steady raising of the standard of existing institutions should not be postponed to increase their number, when the new institutions cannot be efficient without a better-trained and better-paid teaching staff, there should be a large expansion of lower primary schools teaching the three R's with drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study, and physical exercises.
>
> (2) Simultaneously, upper primary schools should be established at suitable centers and lower primary schools should, where necessary, be developed into upper primary schools.
>
> (3) Expansion should be secured by means of Board schools, except where this is financially impossible, when aided schools under recognized management should be encouraged. . . . Reliance should not be placed on "venture schools" unless by subjecting themselves to suitable inspection they earn recognition.

(4) It is not practicable at present in most parts of India to draw any great distinction between the curricula of rural and of urban primary schools. Yet there is special scope for practical teaching of geography, school excursions and the like in the latter class. . . .

(5) Teachers should be drawn from the class of the boys whom they will teach . . . and should have undergone a year's training. . . .

(6) Trained teachers should not receive less than 12 rupees ($4) per month.

(7) No teacher should be called on to teach more than 50 pupils.

(8) The continuation-schools known as middle or secondary vernacular schools should be improved and multiplied.

(9) Schools should be housed in sanitary and commodious but inexpensive buildings.[17]

As Nurullah points out,[18] the statement of policy in the Resolution of 1913 scarcely needs comment. It makes very evident the fact that the struggle between quality and quantity which had been narrowed down to secondary and collegiate education was concerned with primary education also.

Careful note was made of the hope that, even though improvement would be the main aim of Government, it would not neglect the expansion of facilities, and, accordingly, steps would be taken to double the number of schools and pupils. Development of these hopes and plans in Bengal is best described by quoting a section of the Eighth Quinquennial Review of Education in India:

> In Bengal, the percentage of trained teachers in primary schools has risen from 15.7 to 22.0. In this province, reliance has been placed in the past on *guru*-training and *muallim*-training schools, the former training teachers for primary schools and the latter for *maktabs*. "By holding out the bribe of a stipend, and perhaps by the use of some thinly-veiled compulsion, there are gathered into the *guru*-training schools

a number of teachers whose knowledge of the subjects they teach is little above that of the unfortunate taught." Here they attempt, in one year or in two, to go through the whole upper primary or middle vernacular course with a top-dressing of the Art and Theory of Teaching super-added. There are no foundations on which to build, so that it is not surprising, to quote the Inspector, Dacca Division, that "the actual work done by the trained teachers in primary schools is cruelly disappointing." It is in fact a misnomer to class the ordinary product of the *guru*-training school under the head of "trained." To undergo training implies the acquisition of professional and technical skill. "Training as interpreted in relation to primary education in Bengal is merely a despairing attempt to supply by special means some part of what is wanting in the teachers' general equipment."

Progress has, however, been made with the system of concentration. . . . While the number of *guru*-training schools and *muallim* schools has been reduced from 118 to 102, there are now 22 training schools of an improved type in existence. These new schools have classrooms and hostels for 40 students and cost about Rs. 50,000 each to build. They have a complete course of training for one year and a staff of one teacher in the Subordinate Service on about Rs. 100 per mensem and two in the Vernacular Service. The number of students under training in Bengal has remained nearly constant at about 2,500; and in view of the description given of the *guru*-training schools it is clear that for some time to come expenditure must be devoted rather to improving the quality of the training given than to enlarging the output.[19]

The discussion turns to secondary education at this time (1914) in Bengal. Since the Resolution of 1913 was concerned with secondary schools too, some effort must be made to present the contemporary picture in Bengal. The Calcutta University Commission Report[20] goes into considerable detail on the problem of secondary schools in Bengal. For the most part, what follows is an eclectic digest from the latter report.

It was characteristic of Bengal as a province to have an extremely large proportion of high schools under private management. In fact, only one out of fourteen of the high schools were run by the government. Madras Presidency was the closest to Bengal's figure, and the former had but one out of five high schools under government management.

The real explanation for Bengal's secondary school status was the immediate influence of ideas as they developed in England. The grant-in-aid system had been fostered from the time of Wood's Despatch in 1854 and private secondary schools were encouraged. Private effort had a record of having set up many high schools in Bengal through the years after 1854—not only through missionary effort but also by private individuals from Europe and India. The emphasis on private effort to set up high schools continued in 1882, according to the report of the Hunter Commission of that year. In fact, the government, as was shown in an earlier chapter, was urged to withdraw from secondary education.

From 1904 to 1913, public opinion in England was becoming more and more interested in the soundness of secondary education as being a responsibility of the State. The example of the State-managed high schools in the United States was influencing the minds of Englishmen.

Some selected word pictures of secondary education at this time will illustrate conditions:

> Schools of a money-making type, ill-housed, ill-equipped, and run on the cheapest lines, have in certain cases gained recognition and eluded the control of inspection. Schools have sprung into existence in destructive competition with neighboring institutions. Physical health has been neglected and no provision has been made for suitable residential arrangements and playfields. Fee-rates have been lowered; competition and laxity in transfer have destroyed discipline; teachers have been employed on rates of pay insufficient to attract men capable of instructing or controlling their pupils. Above

> all, the grants-in-aid have from want of funds often been inadequate. . . . Especially do these conditions prevail in the area covered by the old provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal . . . a result due, no doubt, to the rapid extension of English education beyond the ability of the local governments to finance it. In Bengal and Eastern Bengal the number of high schools is greater than in the rest of British India put together, and the cost of their maintenance to public funds is proportionately less than a third of the cost prevailing in other provinces. A special inquiry showed that, out of some 4,700 teachers in privately managed high schools in these areas, about 4,200 were in receipt of less than Rs. 50 a month, some 3,300 of less than Rs. 30 a month, while many teachers of English and classical languages drew salaries that would not attract men to superior domestic service. . . .[21]

The Educational Policy, as it was issued by the Government of India in 1913, showed that the government was aware of the evils in the secondary school system and aimed to remedy them. In regard to secondary English schools, the policy was formulated as follows:

> (1) To improve the . . . Government schools by—
>   (a) Employing only graduates or trained teachers;
>   (b) Introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs. 40 per month and a maximum salary of Rs. 400 per month;
>   (c) Providing proper hostel accommodation;
>   (d) Introducing a school course complete in itself with a staff sufficient to teach what may be called the modern side with special attention to the development of an historical and geographical sense;
>   (e) Introducing manual training and improving science teaching.
> (2) To increase largely the grants-in-aid, in order that aided institutions may keep pace with the improvements in Government schools on the above-mentioned

lines, and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions where necessary.

(3) To multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers may be available for public and private institutions.

(4) To found Government schools in such localities as may, on a survey of local conditions and with due regard to economy of educational effort and expense, be proved to require them. . . .[22]

The Government of India recognized the existence of three categories of secondary schools:

(1) Those provided and directly managed by Government.

(2) Those inspected and aided by Government but provided and maintained by public local authorities and by duly constituted committees of private persons.

(3) Those established and maintained by private bodies or by private individuals, but not aided by Government, though required to submit to inspection in order to enjoy the privilege of presenting candidates for the matriculation examination of the University.[23]

As was pointed out above, in Bengal the privately managed secondary schools were the rule and not the exception. In fact, there was a large and undefined category of other schools which were not aided and only in some cases inspected. This latter class was undesirable. Responsible people in government hoped they would disappear, or at least come under inspection ultimately and be qualified to receive grants-in-aid from public funds.

In Bengal, more than in any other province of India, the view of secondary education that obtained in England in the middle of the nineteenth century left a permanent impression. The exceptionally large number of privately managed secondary schools in the Presidency was directly due to the fact that when educational opinion in Bengal was in its most impressionable state, English sympathies were strongly in favor of private initiative in secondary education on the ground that privately managed schools would be more likely to remain immune from governmental interference with intellectual liberty.

The Calcutta Commission Report listed five reasons why the general opinion in England changed from this view:

> (1) It is recognized that the needs of modern life, and especially of scientific industry, call for a variety of courses in secondary schools, a variety which entails a greatly increased expenditure upon staff and equipment.
> (2) It is admitted that secondary schools cannot be competent unless the services of efficient teachers, trained in the art of teaching, are secured and maintained . . . which will greatly increase the cost of providing secondary education.
> (3) The study of hygiene has disclosed the importance of securing healthy conditions of school life for boys and girls, and abundant provision for their physical development . . . entails great expenditure.
> (4) Secondary education now appeals to classes of the community which in earlier days were tacitly regarded as lying in great measure outside its pale . . . and which demand good education at low fees. . . .
> (5) With the increase in the number of pupils, all requiring some test of their educational progress and most of them seeking to qualify for a certificate of attainment, the older forms of public examination have been put to a severe test, from which they have not escaped without criticism.[24]

The source quoted above notes that in England secondary education (in its more popular forms) was passing out of the category of private effort into the category of those public services which were supported by taxation. There were signs that the trend would affect Bengal. The Commission Report sounded a warning to the effect that precautions should be taken to guard secondary education not against State *super-*

vision, which is salutary, but against State *interference* with freedom in the schools.[25]

What was the direct effect of the First World War on education in India? The Government Report on the progress of education through the years seems to minimize the war's effect. It seems that actual school attendance was not appreciably affected.[26] However, helping the Allies was the preoccupation of many of the upper classes in India. Money was contributed to the cause and also troops. By 1915, 40,000 Indian troops were aiding the Allies.[27] Daupota[28] says that officials were overwhelmed with war work and that scholarships went down. Recruits for the army were usually drawn from rural and agricultural classes, except for special units such as the Bengali Regiment.[29] The latter rendered good account of itself in some of the Western theaters of the war.

What caused far more trouble than the war effort in the schools in Bengal, according to educational reports,[30] was disregard for discipline caused by political activities among students in the schools. A campaign was clearly designed to incite the student community against the British. These political activities could not be suppressed, and continued long after the war was over.[31]

Parulekar records some interesting conclusions on literacy in Bengal beginning with 1911 and continuing through the war period. According to records, he says,[32] Bengal had the highest percentage of literacy among all the major provinces of India from 1911 to 1931. He tries to attribute this to the fact that in Bengal, unlike Bombay and Madras, the primary school system was divided into two stages, the first of which comprised the lower three classes. In Bengal, a large number of lower primary schools taught the first three classes only. Nearly fifty per cent of the pupils reading in the third year, says Parulekar, left school for good.[33] He surmises that since the three-year course was looked upon as a complete unit of education, it so influenced the teaching in these three-year schools that large numbers of pupils who left them acquired literacy as prescribed by the Census standard and figured so in the Census records. He insists this must be the explanation, because neither the course of instruction or its organization, nor the birthrate and deathrate account for the continuous lead of Bengal over the other provinces.

It was at this time that educational officials became aware of another problem of education in India, namely, the combination of "lapse into illiteracy" and "wastage." These two factors were first noted and commented upon by the author of the Progress of Education Report of 1907-1912 published in 1914.[34] The report estimates that thirty-nine per cent of the pupils that attended school lapsed into illiteracy. Parulekar points out the limitations of the calculations.[35] "Wastage" is defined as the "withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary course."[36] This phenomenon is described by Parulekar at some length. He insists that the author of the Government Report confounded "lapse into illiteracy" with "wastage." However, the Government Report properly describes this early abandonment of studies by students as the crux of the whole question of elementary education in India.[37] Figures on "wastage" and the concomitant evil, "stagnation" (failure to progress), are of interest to the Quinquennial Reports on education after this time, and Parulekar points out that the Report of Education in India for 1923-24 uses a reasonably accurate method for measuring "wastage."[38] These problems will arise regularly from this time and attempted solutions will be described.

On physical education in the schools during the period enclosed by this chapter, the Government Report for 1907-1912 complains about teachers in Bengal who "as a whole do not appreciate the value of physical training for their pupils and do little for the better organization of school games, much less take part in them themselves."[39]

To attempt a remedy, the same report notes that Bengal had recently obtained a physical director from the United States. What success the latter director had in Bengal is not recorded in later reports.

An appointment of significance in education was made in 1915. The Government of India created the post of Education Commissioner. This was in reality a revival of the post of Director-General of Education which had been abolished in 1910. The Commissioner's task was to tour extensively, discuss questions with local governments and to advise the educational departments on cases. At the same time a central bureau of education was reestablished to collect and disseminate information on education.[40]

The provincial department of public instruction in 1915 ordinarily consisted of a Director, aided by an Assistant Director and a central office. In Bengal, the work was particularly heavy, so that, besides the usual Assistant Director, an Assistant Director of Mohammedan education was appointed.[41] This arrangement was in harmony with the general governmental policy of promoting and encouraging Moslem education.

In order to give some picture of education in Bengal in the latter part of the period covered by this chapter, a number of figures taken from the Government Reports[42] are presented here. The population in 1917 in Bengal was listed as being approximately forty-five million. Of these almost twenty-four million were Moslem and twenty million Hindu. The rest of the total was made up of Christians and Buddhists for the most part. At this time there were 46,104 schools in Bengal divided thus: 41,966 primary, 2,756 secondary, 1,331 special and 50 college. The total number of pupils in school was listed as 1,918,432. Of the latter total (excluding those in private institutions), there were approximately 28,000 in college,[43] 415,455 in secondary schools, 1,374,891 in primary schools, and 42,276 in special schools.[44] Of these 87 per cent were boys and 13 per cent were girls. The total expenditure on education for Bengal in the year 1917 was Rs. 1,74,75,149, which was in excess of that spent by any other province in India. The school population of United Provinces exceeded that of Bengal by a scant million.[45]

In the next chapter, an attempt is made to follow the development of education in Bengal through a long period of years with some contrasts to the present period (1912-21) covered by this chapter. In 1917, the average annual cost of a primary school in Bengal was Rs. 117 and the average *annual* cost of a pupil was Rs. 3.5.[46] This is startling considering the fact that a rupee is about $00.32 in American money. In regard to secondary schools, even though Bengal had a number attending far in excess of that of other provinces (approximately 415,000 over against 149,000 in Madras, its nearest rival),[47] the Government Reports list scores of complaints on the general weakness of the secondary schools, especially because of weak and untrained teachers.[48] As regards the University of Calcutta which controls higher education in Bengal, the Reports show that this institution had 58 affiliated colleges. Of the approximately 22,000 students attending, at least 11,655 were honored with degrees in the period 1912-1917.[49] The weaknesses of the university will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter, when the purposes and functions of the Calcutta University Commission are discussed.

In a previous chapter some mention was made of the founding of national schools in Bengal as part of the anti-partition agitation against Curzon's split of Bengal. These national schools gradually declined, and in 1917 it was noted that their number had dropped from sixteen to six.[50]

An interesting comment is made in the Government Report on the European institutions in Bengal in 1917. Of the seventy-nine institutions in the province, thirty-eight were managed by Roman Catholic groups. In Bombay Province also, nearly half of the institutions were under those auspices. Although only a fifth of the Europeans in India belonged to that church in 1917, that church claimed over half of the mixed race (Anglo-Europeans). The Report points out that the fact that the schools were managed by religious orders contributed much to their effective and economical management, since the members of such orders accept no salaries but contribute their whole effort to the work of the group.[51]

Comment on the education of the handicapped closes this part of the statistical discussion. In 1917, the Central Government was urging better provision for their training. Bengal had 7 schools for them. The Report points out: "In 1911, the number of blind or deaf and dumb between the ages of 5 and 15 was 80,620. The total at school is 802. The only satisfaction which can be felt about the figure is that it compares favorably with some 400 in 1907 and 430 recorded in 1912. Bengal accounts for more than half of the existing number of such schools."[52]

The general impression of the reader from the statistics on Bengal province given above will perhaps be favorable. However, the really deplorable factor in education in this province was the weakness of the teachers. In 1917 only 15.7 per cent of the primary teachers in Bengal were trained. An astonishingly large number of the primary teachers had passed only the lower primary examination. Bengal was far behind all the other provinces in respect to the training of teachers.[53] Conditions were not better in secondary schools, where only 1.3 per cent of the English and classical teachers were certificated.[54] Low pay was also the plight of teachers. In the secondary school, the teacher averaged Rs. 29 per month,[55] and in the primary school, the teacher in Bengal averaged Rs. 12 per month[56] in publicly managed schools. The inspecting staff was far from adequate in the schools of Bengal, so the weak-teacher evil was confirmed in many schools. In 1918, in Bengal, one inspector was expected to visit 114 public institutions. Eighty schools should have been the limit if the inspection was to be at all effective.[57]

Another particularly weak spot in the educational pattern of Bengal province, as shown by Government Reports towards the end of World War I, was the small percentage of Moslems attending school. By this time (1918), the old Moslem aversion for modern forms of thought, and the exclusive adherence to orthodox subjects in school, was slowly dying out, yet the proportion of Moslems in school was deplorable. Of the approximately twenty-three million Moslems in Bengal only about 864,000 were in schools of any kind at the beginning of 1918.[58] The situation was bad, especially since Moslems comprised almost fifty-three per cent of the population of that province. Government officials were aware of the situation and planned and strove to remedy it. Moslem *maktabs* and *madrassahs* were encouraged and urged to expand, and were given government help as an inducement. Yet the situation was to continue in spite of all efforts, as records today attest.

The Calcutta University Commission Report was published in 1919. Of this report, Basu says, "Never before was published such an important and elaborate report on Indian education."[59]

Nurullah writes:

> The report published in 1919 is a document of inter-provincial importance. Although it deals with the Calcutta University only, the problems that it has studied are more or less common to the other Indian Universities. Hence, the report of the Commission had far-reaching consequences upon the development of university education in India as a whole.[60]

In the course of a convocation address delivered in January, 1917, Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, announced the creation of the Commission as a necessary preliminary to a constructive policy, and his determination that its composition should insure the consideration of educational problems with an eye to educational efficiency.[61]

The Commission appointed was under the chairmanship of

Sir Michael Sadler, for which reason it is often referred to as the Sadler Commission. It included some of the most eminent educators of India and England at the time. Names like Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Sir P. J. Hartog, Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmad, and others on the Commission were most distinguished.

The Commission met in November, 1917 in Calcutta, and after hearing 93 select witnesses and getting written evidence from 412 people, and moreover, visiting a large number of institutions in Bengal and other parts of India, presented its report in March, 1919.[62]

When the report was published, it was at once evident that even though it was concerned with Calcutta University, many of the recommendations were equally applicable to other Indian universities. The Government of India issued a resolution in January, 1920, summarizing the report of the Commission, and commending its findings to the consideration of other local governments. Committees were set up at all university centers to consider the suitability of the recommendations for their own peculiar problems. Most University Acts passed since the time of the Calcutta Commission embody in some manner the schemes recommended by the latter group.[63]

Immediate results of the Commission were: (1) an Act was passed by the Central Government in 1921 substituting the Governor of Bengal for the Governor-General as the Chancellor of the University of Calcutta; (2) the University of Dacca in East Bengal was established. The latter university had been promised by Lord Hardinge in 1912 when Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal were reunited. It has been said that Dacca University owed its birth to local and communal patriotism, since the decision to reverse the partition made many Moslems fear that their educational progress would suffer by the change.[64] Dacca University was planned by a committee under Robert Nathan, and became a type quite different from what had been the rule in India. It was a unitary residential university. A new form of constitution, which had been recommended by the Calcutta University Commission, was adopted. Although the new university, unfortunately, started during a period of financial distress in Bengal, it made progress from the start under the chancellorship of the very able Sir Philip Hartog. Departments increased, laboratories were equipped, and the library was expanded, so that facilities for original work were provided.[65]

The purpose of the Calcutta Commission is summarized in the first volume of its report:

> As regards general terms of reference, the Commission will be empowered to inquire into the working of the present organization of the University of Calcutta and its affiliated colleges, the standards, the examinations, and the distribution of teachers; to consider at what places and in what manner provision should be made in Bengal for teaching and research for persons above the secondary school age; to examine the suitability of the present situation and constitution of the University and make such suggestions as may be necessary for their modifications; to make recommendations as to the qualifications to be demanded of students on their admission to the University, as to the value to be attached outside the University to the degrees conferred by it and as to the relations which should exist between the University and its colleges or departments and between the University and the Government; and to recommend any changes of constitution, administration, and educational policy which may appear desirable.[66]

The Calcutta University Commission Report is a classic study, and its thirteen volumes are a valuable source of data even today. To summarize the Report is a task. However, with the aid of Nurullah,[67] it will be attempted.

The Commission of 1917 made note of the fact that the 1882 Commission had been precluded from reporting on universities, and the commission of 1902 was not allowed to report on secondary educational problems. The Calcutta Commission, however, studied and reported on the problems of secondary education as well as those of university teaching, because it held that the improvement of secondary education was an essential foundation of the improvement of the university.

Some recommendations regarding secondary schools were:

(1) The dividing line between the university and secondary courses is more properly drawn at the intermediate examination than at the matriculation.
(2) Government should create a new type of institution called "Intermediate Colleges." [Junior college idea!]
(3) The admission test for universities should be the passing of the intermediate examination.
(4) A Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education consisting of the representatives of Government, University, High Schools, and Intermediate Colleges should be established and entrusted with the administration and control of secondary education.[68]

Almost everyone was aware that there was need for improving the secondary school system and standards in Bengal, and the recommendations cited above made a great impression on Indian educational thought. For a time, they seemed to be on the verge of universal acceptance. However, there was a reversal of opinion because of financial considerations and, perhaps, in some instances, fear on the part of degree colleges that the "Intermediate College" idea would take away some of their teachers and sources of income.[69] There is evidence for a judgment that recommendations and suggestions of the Calcutta Commission were accepted and applied everywhere in Indian provinces except in the province where the recommendations were originally made.

The recommendation that Dacca University be established was carried out as noted above. A large number of other universities were established shortly as a result of the recommendations of the Commission or its influence. Among these might be noted the universities of Mysore, Patna, Benares, Aligarh, Lucknow, and Osmania.[70]

As might be expected from thirteen published volumes, the Commission covered a vast field. It recommended better and more objective schemes to appoint professors and readers, special encouragement of Moslem education, regard for student health, organization of schools for girls on a larger scale in higher education, increase of the number of teachers, and creation of departments of education in the universities of Calcutta and Dacca together with plans for training teachers. It was also recommended that attention be paid to improvement in professional and vocational education.[71] The recommendations, in many cases, were so comprehensive that a province like Bengal and a country like India with economic and cultural difficulties (v.g., imposition of European education) would need much time and money to make perceptible changes and advances.[72]

Hartog says:

> There can be no doubt that the Government, in setting up the Commission during the war, had clearly in view the democratic reforms which came into force afterwards and the desirability of raising the standard of Western education in India, to meet the needs of Western political ideals.[73]

The writer of this quotation was a member of the Commission. Even he says that, though the report had a great influence on Indian education in general, the constitution of the University of Calcutta remained "unreformed."[74] But had the Commission Report served only as a stimulus for thought, it would have served some purpose.

Gokhale and his efforts in behalf of compulsory primary education were described in the first part of this chapter. His efforts were beginning to bear fruit by the end of the first World War. In Bengal, a Primary Education Act was passed in 1919. The Act stressed compulsory primary education for municipalities and some villages. However, it was not until 1930 that the Rural Compulsory Education Act was passed.

The latter will be described in the next chapter. In spite of all the educational Acts, a writer reports that in 1920 Bengal was still confronted with the tragic fact that most of the pupils entered in the lowest class did not go beyond it.[75]

Some references should be made to Patrick Geddes, the Scot, in India. He made some careful reports on town-planning in Dacca in East Bengal and elsewhere in India. Most educational reports record the fact that he lectured in sociology in the University of Bombay in 1918-19. However, a significant reference to his town-planning is made by Dumbell:

> The work he is doing for India derives much of its stimulus and practical value from his insight into the relationship between education and the other aspects of civic duty and into the social and economic context of all kinds of education. [76]

The political scene at this time had such a definite influence on education that a brief outline of developments must be presented. In 1917, the Revolution took place in Russia. It is difficult to estimate the influence of that event in India. However, Ray insists that emissaries of the Third International were running about to create trouble and discontent against the British.[77]

In 1919, the Rowlatt Bill was passed against the united opposition of all sections of the people in India. It was a bill that placed the liberties of the people of India at the mercy of the bureaucracy, its outstanding features being summary arrest and summary trial and hardly any appeal. It created great bitterness, and was opposed even by liberal Englishmen.[78] Then too, martial law had been decreed in Amritsar, Lahore, and other places, and an army detachment had fired on defenseless people at the orders of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was in command at Amritsar.

Public opinion had been against the British for a long time, and especially at the close of World War I, when it became evident that the British did not intend to give India freedom.

Now, with high-handed methods being used to quell disturbances, including floggings and crawling orders, feeling was becoming more bitter than ever.

The years 1919-1921 are best described as the beginning of the "Non-cooperation Movement." Mahatma Gandhi was the central figure. Inspired by the reading of Tolstoy, the British-trained Indian lawyer, after some successes in South Africa in behalf of Indian laborers, went to India and began his successful spread of the doctrine of "passive resistance." He called his movement "Satyagraha." A special session of the Indian National Congress met in Calcutta in 1920 and officially sanctioned Gandhi's new movement. Students left schools, lawyers stopped their practice, title-holders gave up their honors received from the British.

Shortly before this time, the Moslems in India had become concerned at the Allied attack on Turkey, the land of the Caliph, keeper of the Moslem faith. They had joined hands with the Hindus in 1916, and the Congress and the Moslem League formed an alliance demanding that India become "an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing Dominions."[79]

So it came about that, in the early twenties, the League, representing the Moslems, and the Congress, representing Hindus for the most part, were in a closer alliance and determination of purpose than they had ever been before. Even after the Khalifat (Caliphate) Movement was seen to be hopeless and the Moslems in India realized that they could not hope for unity with Turkey, which the Allies did not spare, the cooperation with the Hindus continued. The British Government in India, Indians insist, looked with disfavor on this unity.

The British Government was not unaware of what had caused Indian desires for freedom. In 1918, at Simla in the hills, the Viceroy came out with the statement: "The inevitable result of education in the history and thought of Europe is the desire for self-determination; and the demand that now meets us from the educated classes of India is no more than the right and natural outcome of the work of a hundred years."[80]

Governmental reforms were in demand, and the British recognized the fact. In 1918 a report on Constitutional Reforms entitled the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was issued. Montagu was the Secretary of State for India and Chelmsford was the Viceroy, as noted earlier in this chapter. Here is a striking selection from the report:

> Our educational policy in the past aimed at satisfying the few who sought after English education, without sufficient thought of the consquences which might issue from not taking care to extend instruction to the many. We have, in fact, created a limited intelligentsia, who desire advance; and we cannot stay their progress entirely until education has been extended to the masses. It has been made a reproach to the educated classes that they have followed too exclusively after one or two pursuits—the law, journalism, or school teaching; and that these are all callings which make men inclined to overrate the importance of words and phrases. But even if there is substance in the count, we must take note also how far the past policy of Government is responsible. We have not succeeded in making education practical. . . . We must admit that the educated Indian is a creation peculiarly of our own; and if we take the credit that is due us for his strong points we must admit a similar liability for his weak ones.[81]

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was issued in 1918; the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were passed by the Government in 1919 and put into operation in 1921. The Act of 1919 established a system known as Dyarchy (rule by two), or a division of government into two parts: responsible and non-responsible. Certain departments, such as Public Health, Education, and the like were "transferred" to Indian ministers "responsible" to the Provincial Legislatures; but these ministers had no power to appropriate any money for improvements in health or education because the department of Finance as well as those of Police, Defense, and other key departments were "reserved," in the hands of British Ministers responsible only to the various governors of provinces appointed by the Government. Complete veto power was retained by the governors, who were also empowered to "certify" legislation that they wished passed.[82]

It was under this unusual form of political constitution, as Nurullah notes,[83] that Indians first obtained control of the Education Department. Indian ministers faced difficulties in the field of education because of the nature of the indigenous problems and also the restrictions on the part of the Central Government and the Provincial Government with regard to the finances needed for any given educational project.

Lord Chelmsford retired from the office of viceroy, and was succeeded by Lord Reading in April, 1921. The "nonviolence" ideal of Gandhi did not restrain all of his followers, and government officials were murdered at Chauri Chaura. Gandhi deplored the violence. Finally, the movement of noncooperation weakened and practically collapsed with the imprisonment of Gandhi in early 1922.[84]

CHAPTER SEVEN

EDUCATION IN THE LOWER GANGES FROM THE DYARCHY OF 1921 TO THE BEGINNING OF INDIA'S PART IN WORLD WAR II AS AN ALLY IN 1939

THE EIGHTEEN YEARS considered in this chapter comprise a span of slow and steady development of the educational pattern in Bengal. Except for the Provincial Autonomy in 1937, there were no radical changes in the plan of administration in education, and neither were there extraordinary increases in expenditures. The eleven provinces involved in the Provincial Autonomy in 1937 took their new responsibilities in stride, and the plans that had been initiated in each province, adapted to special needs, were expanded and amended as the occasion demanded. Of course, the problem of finance always disturbed the leaders in Bengal, and some advised retrenchment while others encouraged more expenditure.

No province had problems exactly like those of Bengal because the latter had such a high percentage of Moslems, who were notoriously behind Hindus in the matter of Western education. Only the Sind Province on the Northwest Frontier could compare with Bengal in the number of Moslems. However, through the years described in this chapter, there were

Vital Statistics in Bengal Education from 1922-1939[1]

Year	*Number of Schools*	*Number of Pupils*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Expenditure (In Rupees)*
1922	54,162	1,950,929	1,602,134	348,795	3,31,42,296
1923	56,001	2,057,062	1,692,688	364,470	3,44,48,307
1924	57,173	2,150,942	1,770,472	380,470	3,56,45,939
1925	57,978	2,222,012	1,824,942	397,070	3,76,94,290
1926	60,443	2,343,380	1,918,328	425,152	3,97,76,078
1927	63,354	2,501,712	2,039,786	461,926	4,14,72,735
1928	65,493	2,625,222	2,129,098	496,124	4,33,98,109
1929	66,973	2,687,826	2,167,886	510,950	4,43,99,993
1930	67,640	2,712,553	2,178,992	533,561	4,39,31,553
1931	69,036	2,783,225	2,223,513	559,712	4,22,87,036
1932	70,327	2,863,091	2,255,552	607,539	4,17,51,551
1933	71,926	2,966,712	2,312,148	654,564	4,23,16,319
1934	71,660	3,075,272	2,380,783	694,489	4,32,39,303
1935	69,426	3,146,291	2,430,202	716,089	4,44,26,054
1936	68,825	3,205,896	2,472,507	733,389	4,55,08,439
1937	67,495	3,380,660	2,633,205	747,455	4,72,59,249
1938	64,267	3,486,288	2,721,915	764,373	4,93,93,104
1939	63,305	3,668,532	2,886,459	802,073	5,27,17,333

always representative Moslems in the Provincial Government, and these leaders tried to push the education of their co-religionists.

The chart of vital figures on the preceding page, garnered from the Provincial Reports on Education in Bengal, shows that there was a steady increase in the number of pupils through the years 1922-1939. Further, there was a gradual increase in the amount expended on education, except for some slight retrenchment during the years 1930 and 1931. Those were depression years throughout the whole world. By 1935, the expenditure on education in Bengal had reached its previous peak of 1929.

The number of schools or institutions dropped after 1935. That item should not be alarming, because there was a definite program to better existing schools and to eliminate those which were unnecessary and inefficient.

Since the Dyarchy Reform Act put education into the hands of Indian ministers, it is appropriate here to try to describe what confronted these educators. Nurullah says, basing his conclusion on a comparison of figures which he admits cannot be absolutely accurate:

> The conclusion becomes inevitable that the Indian Ministers of 1921 had to begin their task in primary education at a stage which, when looked at from the point of view of the work that had yet to be done, was not appreciably different from that which Adam found in 1835.[2]

The population of Bengal according to the census cited by Nurullah was almost forty-seven million. In the primary schools of that province, there were almost a million and a half pupils. He estimates that to be about three per cent of the population, whereas it should be about fifteen per cent, considering averages of other countries. The percentage of pupils in the primary schools is slightly less than that of the two other provinces of like size, Madras and Bombay.[3] Literacy in Bengal in 1921 is listed as being about nine per cent, which is a figure but a few tenths above that of Madras and Bombay. It is far behind that of predominantly Christian areas in South India and Buddhist Burma.[4]

Although available figures seemed to warrant the conclusion that the situation in primary education in 1921 was not essentially different from what it was in 1835, the university education scene was in definite contrast. In 1901, the number of students in college in India was about 17,000. In 1921 it was up to 54,473, which was an increase of over 200 per cent in twenty years. The province of Bengal was no exception to the general pattern.[5]

The Calcutta University Commission Report described in the last chapter made repeated reference to the weakness of secondary education in Bengal. The weakness of the teacher is perhaps the most important factor. The Government Report for 1922[6] makes note of the fact that of the 12,906 Anglo-vernacular teachers, and teachers of classical languages in secondary schools in Bengal, only 357 had been trained, although 3,392 were graduates. The trained vernacular teachers made a better record. Of 7,798 about 3,595 were trained, or 48 per cent.

The most discouraging point about teacher training for primary school instructors in Bengal is illustrated by a quotation noted in a previous chapter: "Training as interpreted in relation to primary education in Bengal is merely a despairing attempt to supply by special means some part of what is wanting in the teacher's general equipment."[7]

The schemes for expansion of primary education in Bengal in the early twenties were, in the main, three: The Panchayat Union Scheme, the Biss Scheme, and the District School Boards' Scheme. The Panchayat Union has been described before as having been used with success in Eastern Bengal during the time of the Partition, and after the reversal of the Partition to have been adopted with some success in Western Bengal. The plan was to establish at least one cheap school for each Panchayat Union, the cost of the building (about 1,000 rupees) being borne by the government. The maintenance of the school was the duty of the Panchayat or local board.

The second scheme is referred to as the "Biss Scheme" from its author, Evan E. Biss. The latter was assigned to draw up a scheme for the expansion and improvement of primary education in Bengal in 1920. He observed the fact that private schools clustered and competed for fees, while poorer and more backward areas had no schools. He proposed a survey and the establishment of at least one school (private or public) within the radius of one and a half miles. If the population was large in a given area, he proposed a set of schools. He suggested that the government bear the cost of the schools on a fifty-fifty basis with the local body. The latter had an option of levying an educational tax under the provisions of the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919 described in the last chapter.[8]

The third scheme was the most ambitious and will be described later in this present chapter under its proper title, The Bengal Rural Primary Education Act of 1930.

Among schools for the children of those engaged in special industries, the Government Report points to the fact that the largest class of schools of this character is that provided for the tea gardens of Bengal (and Assam). The number of tea garden schools fell during the years 1917-1922 from 136 to 94 in Bengal. The managers of the tea gardens were not hostile to the established schools, but neither were they greatly interested in them. There was a general depression in the tea market, and the prevailing distress compelled many children to forsake school and to go to work as full-time laborers.[9]

It was markedly characteristic of the early twenties in Bengal that the educational program was constantly short of funds. This continued up to 1925, when there was some improvement. In early 1925, there was considerable alarm caused among the departmental officers in education when the Legislative Council of the province refused to vote a large portion of the sum needed for salaries of inspecting officers of education. Provisional notices of discharge had to be issued to scores of inspecting officers. They could not be kept on the payroll if there were no funds to pay them. The Government Reports hint[10] at the problem of determining whether the funds were not voted because of an obstructionist policy, or perhaps from a genuine belief on the part of some administrative officials that the Government could control a large school system without an inspecting force. Some officials had the idea that funds ordinarily used for inspecting purposes could be diverted to other educational needs. A re-vote in August, however, relieved the immediate difficulties which the reduction in appropriations had caused. However, the whole inspecting staff was under fire.

Among measures of economy adopted during 1923 and 1924, the following might be mentioned: reduction of the staff of government high schools, some colleges, and the subinspectors; reduction in the allotment available for traveling allowances of inspecting officers and also contingent expenses of these officers.

There was serious disagreement on policies in the administration of Bengal, and the Educational Ministry found itself struggling for existence. Finally, in August of 1924, the Educational Ministry was officially dissolved and the Governor assumed control of the Department. A member of the Governor's Council administered Education. The latter was considered a "reserved" subject in Bengal in spite of the stipulations of the Reforms of Montagu-Chelmsford which took effect in 1921.

It should be noted that two important schemes were revived in 1923: the proposal of a teacher-training college at Ballygunj, and also the proposal of Islamia College in Calcutta for Moslems.

The Calcutta University Commission had made important recommendations for reorganizing the University and for establishing a board to control secondary education. Neither of these projects was taken up in the early twenties, even though most serious-minded educators in Bengal knew that the Calcutta University Commission had pointed out needs. Of course, there was much talk, and the Provincial Report says that attempts were made to ascertain how far an agreed bill would be acceptable to the University and the Government of Bengal.[11] A committee of the University during the latter part of 1924 made proposals for stabilizing and improving the graduate department of the University, and these same proposals were later put into effect, so that some progress was made in solving University problems.

A development that had far-reaching effects took place in 1924 outside of Bengal. It was the establishment of the Inter-University Board which met in Simla for the first time. The whole plan had been suggested by the Calcutta University Commission to coordinate the activities of all the universities present. The functions of the Board were formulated as follows:

(1) To act as an inter-university organization and bureau of information.
(2) To facilitate the exchange of professors.
(3) To serve as an authorized channel of communication and facilitate the coordination of university work.
(4) To assist Indian universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas, and examinations in other countries.
(5) To appoint or recommend where necessary a common representative or representatives of India at imperial or international conferences on higher education.
(6) To act as an appointment bureau for Indian universities.
(7) To fulfill such other duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by Indian universities.[12]

The Board has done useful work and its utility has increased from year to year. It has become an integral part of the organization of Indian universities but there is still much to be done by way of standardizing the universities of that country.

One of the most notable and perhaps most melancholy educational events of the year 1924 was the death of Bengal's most outstanding educational personality, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee. Five times he had been Vice-chancellor of Calcutta University and contributed more than any one individual to make it a great institution. The comment of His Excellency the Governor and Chancellor is recorded in the Provincial Report of that year: "When Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee died, a feeling akin to consternation was created in our minds. In the midst of our sorrow and apprehension we felt that though no one was capable of being to the administration of the University that unique combination of almost superhuman industry, knowledge, and intellectual grip which characterized Sir Ashutosh, yet in Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, we had a great Bengali statesman and patriot . . . to steer through the troubled waters that still lay ahead of us."[13]

The Governor was to be disappointed. Mr. Basu died shortly after Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee. The latter was an internationally known scholar, especially in the fields of science and history.

At this time, the Indian Educational Service was under fire, and the Secretary of State for India decided to make no more appointments, whether permanent or officiating. Educational administration, both in the Central Government offices and in the Provincial offices, seemed to be in continual flux in the early twenties.

In contrast to the preceding years, 1925 was a year of relative opulence as far as education in Bengal was concerned. The Provincial Report[14] lists liberal allotments and grants for the cause of education. Three lakhs of rupees were made available from provincial revenues for increased and new grants-in-aid to secondary schools in the province, and for improvement of teachers' pay. Approximately 20,000 rupees were distributed from provincial revenues to improve non-governmental arts colleges. Stipend rates were increased to train teachers in vernacular training schools. Higher fees were paid in non-government-aided secondary schools. Dacca University, which had been founded in 1921, was given a recurring grant of five and a half lakhs of rupees. This allocation of funds was a boon to education in Bengal. However, in spite of all, a far greater allotment of funds could have been absorbed by educational institutions in the province.

Physical training in schools and colleges was given an impetus according to the reports of inspectors, and there was a growing recognition of its importance. The Boy Scout movement was steadily developing too. However, there was no university reform, nor was there improvement in secondary school administration.

During the year 1927 an important event took place in the form of the publication of the Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill. Of course, the Bill was in an early stage, and it was to be some years before it would be effective and enforced. However, the new development was a healthy sign. The chief features of the Bill, which was really published for information in 1927, deserve summary:

(1) Primary schools will be under the control and management of a board called the District School Board, with the District Magistrate as president for the first three terms of three years each. The members will be the District Inspector of Schools, the Subdivisional Officer, three members for each subdivision, to be appointed by the Government from among the members of Union Boards or Panchayati Unions, and three members elected by District Boards.

(2) A cess (tax) at the rate of five pice per rupee of rent will be levied in the same way as the road cess is levied at present. The Zamindars will contribute one pice for each rupee of the revenue they pay to Government, the remaining four pice being met by the Raiyats [Ryots, i.e., peasants], whose children will benefit by the additional facilities for education provided under the terms of the proposed act.

(3) The District School Board will exercise all the powers which are now invested in the District Board regarding the control and management of primary schools.

(4) Government, after consulting the Board concerned, may declare that primary education shall be compulsory within any particular area in which adequate provision for primary education has been made.

(5) No fees will be charged in the primary schools of any area where primary education has been made compulsory.

(6) With the passing of the Bill it will be possible to give a minimum salary of Rs. 15 per month to all trained teachers of recognized primary schools and *maktabs*.[15]

It is interesting to note, as some older reports on education have commented, that in Bengal a system of taxes for roads and physical improvements was organized and enforced long before the taxes for education were proposed and introduced. Of course, the old Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis had set the tradition that the percentage of taxes could not be raised because it had been fixed permanently. However, the preliminary discussions and sounding out of public opinion showed that the Province of Bengal had come a long way in recognizing the need for providing funds for education through the government and not only through individual contributions.

The year 1927-28 was beneficial to teachers in Bengal. An additional grant of one and a half lakhs of rupees was made by the government to improve the pay and prospects of teachers employed in non-government secondary schools. Then too, in January, 1928, a scheme, called a Provident Fund, was introduced to care for teachers in service that were not pensionable according to law. Such teachers were working in special schools. Another item of importance was the fact that a class was introduced in Dacca Farm to give agricultural training to selected teachers of non-governmental schools.

The end of the Report sounds optimistic:

> The problem of the general removal of illiteracy would therefore appear to be capable of being solved within a reasonable time by a judicious combination of increased expenditure and propaganda in the districts and villages in Bengal.[16]

The note of optimism is not only narrowed to the province of Bengal. In the Review of the Progress of Education for the whole of India during the years 1922-27, the following comment is made:

> The causes for this accelerated expansion are not far to seek. Economic conditions have improved, the finances of the provinces have expanded, post-war difficulties have largely disappeared, public interest has been directed towards primary and mass education, programs of educational expansion have been undertaken both under and outside of the Elementary Education Acts in the various provinces, a large number of new schools have been opened, unrecognized schools have been recognized, and the number of areas in which compulsion has been introduced has increased.[17]

The next five years witnessed a change. The pace of expansion was changed. The economic depression felt round the world explained this to some extent. The other cause for change was the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the effect that there should be a policy of *consolidation* rather than of *expansion* in education. This was a policy that came to dominate the official viewpoint between the years 1927-1937.

The Report of the Hartog Committee is an extremely important document of this period. The appointment of that Committee on education came about as follows: By order of the Government of India Act of 1919, which put through the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, a Royal Commission on constitutional reforms was to be appointed ten years later. There was much agitation in India to the effect that the constitutional reforms of 1919 were unsatisfactory, so a Royal Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon (who gave his name to this commission of 1927), was appointed. The Simon Commission was asked to report on the growth of education in India, and was authorized to appoint an auxiliary committee for the purpose.

This Auxiliary Committee on Education was appointed, and Sir Philip Hartog, who had been a member of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19, and also first Vice-chancellor of the newly-founded University of Dacca in East Bengal in 1921, was made president of it.[18]

The complete report of the Hartog Committee is reprinted in the British Parliamentary Papers.[19]

It is interesting to note that the Hartog Committee decided to give special attention to the problem of primary education because its condition was far from satisfactory, "due in part to the fact that while much attention has been paid in the past to a consideration of the higher forms of education, the problems of primary education have been comparatively neglected."[20]

Nurullah makes a satirical though warranted comment:

> It is strange that this observation should have been made successively by the Despatch of 1854, the reviews of education held by the Government of India between 1866-70, the Indian Education Commission, 1882, the Resolution of Government on Educational Policy dated 11th March, 1904, and then again by the Hartog Committee. This can only mean that in spite of all the discussions and schemes for expanding primary education

during the last hundred years or so, the problem had not yet been squarely and fully faced.[21]

The span of comments on education made by the Hartog Committee is immense. Some of the highlights are pointed out here, and then a summary of the Hartog Committee Recommendations is given. The latter are important because they set the government policy from 1927 to 1937 as pointed out above.

The Committee notes that the apathy of the masses towards education had broken down, and that women's education and Moslem education had made decided progress, but insists that these are but one side of the picture. The Committee notes that there is gross wastage and inefficiency in the educational system. *Wastage*, as mentioned earlier, refers to the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary course. *Stagnation* refers to the retention of a child in the lower class for a period of more than one year. Then too, there is comment on the *relapse into illiteracy*, because the environment of a great majority of Indians after they have left school does not contribute to the retention of literacy. The fact that secondary education is dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters should prepare himself for the university is deplored. The absence of systematic efforts at adult education is commented upon, as is also the inadequate provision of elementary schools.

The Committee states that it is of the opinion that the divorce of the (Central) Government of India from education has been unfortunate. Through the reforms of Montagu-Chelmsford in 1919, the responsibility for education devolved on the various provinces. The Committee insists that the Central Government has an obligation to help education with funds. Furthermore, the Committee strongly objects to the provision that many of the Compulsory Education Acts left the initiative of introducing compulsion entirely to local authorities, since this often results in complete inaction.[22]

The recommendations of the Hartog Committee are briefly summarized:

(1) A policy of consolidation should be adopted in preference to one of diffusion.
(2) The minimum duration of the primary course should be four years.
(3) The standard of general education of primary teachers should be raised.
(4) The curriculum of primary schools should be liberalized.
(5) Special attention should be given to the lowest class in primary schools, and determined efforts should be made to reduce the stagnation and wastage that prevail.
(6) Rural uplift work should be undertaken and related to the school.
(7) Primary education is a subject of national importance and the Government must assume powers of control to improve efficiency.
(8) The inspecting staffs should be strengthened.
(9) Compulsion in education should only follow after careful preparation of the ground.[23]

Although it was in 1919 that the Calcutta University Commission had recommended that the university be reorganized and a board be appointed to control secondary education, it was not until 1928 that action on this point was begun in earnest in Bengal. Dr. W. A. Jenkins, a Special Educational Officer, prepared a Secondary Education Bill by which the control of secondary education for boys would be transferred to a special board. He also prepared a Bill for the reorganization of Calcutta University. These two Bills were up for consideration, as was the Bill on Rural Primary Compulsory Education mentioned earlier in this chapter. The year 1928 seemed to bristle with proposed plans and changes for education. The enthusiasts for the Primary Education Bill disseminated a considerable amount of propaganda throughout the province by means of leaflets in the vernacular explaining the provisions of the Bill. Meetings were held to ascertain the attitude of landowners toward the Bill, and reports seemed to indicate that there were no serious objections, even though the increased facilities for education involved a five pice tax.[24]

Female education made a good stride in 1929. There was a remarkable increase of forty per cent in the number of girls attending high schools in Bengal. One factor in this increase was the opening of nine new high schools for girls, but another very important factor was the passing of the Sarda Act. The latter combatted child marriage.[25]

The Lindsay Commission Report has this to say:

> The passing in 1929 of the Sarda Act, making fourteen the minimum age for the marriage of girls and eighteen that for boys, marked an epoch in the emancipation of the women of the land, but the passing of the Act does not in itself achieve that end. Along with it must go much strenuous effort for education and enlightenment.[26]

It is striking that the Sarda Act was passed just one hundred years after the British had decreed that suttee was illegal. In 1829, suttee, the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands, was officially abolished, although the practice did persist for a time in isolated areas.

Purdah is another practice that must give way if women are to be emancipated in India. Purdah[27] refers to the seclusion of women. Hindus attribute the practice to Moslem influence. This is perhaps an exaggeration, because the keeping of women in separate quarters is a very old feature of Hindu society. However, the veiling of women, common in parts of India, is definitely Moslem in origin. The average Westerner finds it hard to visualize all the hurdles that women in India have to cross before they can progress in education and achieve even a degree of equality with men.

The Lindsay Commission of 1929 is important. The Commission was constituted by the International Missionary Council at its meeting in Williamstown, Massachusetts, in July of 1929. Its purpose was to "review the field of service open to Christian colleges in India."[28]

In its report, the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, noted above, was not concerned with Roman Catholic colleges nor was it concerned with colleges for Anglo-Indians and Europeans in India. Protestant Mission colleges were its domain. A book by Arthur Mayhew[29] had much to do with stimulating a review of missionary educational policy in India. The Commission recommended getting back to the original ideals of a Christian college and getting away from mere instruction of non-Christians. It advocated a closer life within the college, such as is encouraged by demanding residence of student bodies, and stressed the necessity for smaller colleges. It advocated extension and research and a closer tie-up with community needs. The religious character of education was to be emphasized.[30]

Among the specific recommendations for the province of Bengal, the Lindsay Commission advised consolidation of the Scottish Church College and St. Paul's College in Calcutta without, however, each losing its identity completely. It suggested strengthening the Diocesan College in Calcutta for women, or providing some satisfactory substitute for the work the college was doing. With regard to Serampore College, it advised a more definite division of the Theological College and the Arts College, and strengthening the latter's faculty. Since most of the students were from South India, it suggested that Bishop's (theological) College of Calcutta be moved to South India. Wesleyan College at Bankura, since it had too small a staff to maintain the Christian ideal of a college, was to be closed or transferred to some other authority. An emphasis on the need for research and extension in Calcutta and vicinity is part of the Commission's recommendations for Bengal.[31]

Before closing the discussion of educational events in Bengal in 1929, several significant items must be mentioned. During that year, the rate of increase of attendance in primary schools went down from the usual 4.2 per cent to 1.9 per cent because of lack of funds. On the other hand, there was encouraging provision for agricultural education, since classes in agriculture were begun in fifteen high and middle schools under the direction of selected teachers who had been specially trained for the purpose. Physical education received an impetus as the result of grants given to many schools for the purchase of physical apparatus and the acquisition of playgrounds. Another very important development in 1929 was the formation of a single Provincial Text-Book Committee in place of the former separate committees headquartered at Calcutta and Dacca. It was hoped that a single cooperative group would be more efficient and effective.[32]

A final item was the constitution of an arbitration board by the University of Calcutta. This board had jurisdiction over non-governmental high schools, and was to deal with differences between teachers and managers of schools. It was a stopgap move, and it was hoped that in due time a board would be constituted to handle all secondary education problems.

As a background for the developments of the early nineteen thirties, some reference must be made again to the John Simon Royal Commission of 1927. In the earlier part of this chapter, it was noted that the Simon Commission which had been appointed to consider constitutional reform had appointed a committee under Sir Philip Hartog to review education in India. The work of the latter committee has been considered, and its recommendations listed. To return to the Simon Commission, from the start it was unpopular in India because of general ill feeling towards the British and because the Commission was made up of Englishmen. The Indian populace heckled and taunted the groups appointed by Britain to consider constitutional reform. The Congress Party under Gandhi was demanding Swaraj (self-rule). Students were part of the active group. Gandhi insisted on non-violence, but things got out of control. Pickets and demonstrators shouted to the Commission wherever it traveled: "Simon, go back!"[33]

In 1930, Gandhi was thrown into prison again. Public protests, strikes, and demonstrations increased. Thousands of men, women, and children were arrested. The British tried to quell disturbances all over India. In January, 1931, Gandhi was released, and a pact was made between him and the Viceroy, Lord Irwin (afterward Lord Halifax), according to which Gandhi and the Congress were to call off civil disobedience, and the Government was to withdraw odious ordinances and release political prisoners. Then a Round Table Conference was called in London. Gandhi was sent to represent the Congress. Nothing was settled at the Conference of 1931, and the British Government in India turned to repressive measures again to try to maintain order. In 1932, Gandhi was in prison in India again and the odious ordinances were enforced all over India, but especially in Bengal, under the governorship of Sir John Anderson, who had been a forceful administrator in Ireland. The aim seemed to be to teach the Congress Party a lesson and to quell every semblance of rebellion. Thousands were sent to prison. The Government allowed the Congress Party to hold a meeting in May, 1934, and civil disobedience was called off.

Following the recommendations of the Simon Commission of 1927, the Government of India Act was passed in 1935. In a sense, the provinces were to have a great deal of autonomy. The Constitution consisted of two main sections, the Federated section for the Central Government, including the Princes' (Maharajas) States, and the Provincial section for the Provinces. The Federated section was still being argued when war was declared in 1939, but the Provincial section went into effect in 1937. It included eleven provinces. The organization was rather complicated. It is noteworthy that the ministers in the various provinces were empowered to look after public health and education, yet their only source of funds for these works was the land revenue which needed reduction rather than increase. Central Government funds were beyond the control of these provincial ministers.[34]

This brief account of the political scene gives some idea of the turbulent background with which educational development in Bengal had to contend. The Provincial Report for 1930-31 speaks of "the insensate political propaganda which kept away students from schools and colleges for weeks together."[35]

Students were often arrested for political activity. By their picketing, they discouraged other students from attending school. In Dacca University in 1931, the Government Report points out, the number of students in attendance dropped from 826 to 748 because of picketing.[36]

On the positive side of achievement in the educational pattern of Bengal in 1930, is the passing of the Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill. It was finally passed against a mass of opposition in August, and received the assent of the Governor General. However, the economic depression which hit Bengal with the rest of the world made the immediate introduction of the Act impossible. Nevertheless, valuable preliminary work was done both in districts and at headquarters. Selected portions were accurately surveyed and sites were determined for schools. Estimates of preliminary expenditures necessary for observance of rules of the Act were worked out.[37]

Facilities for agricultural education, mentioned in a previous Report, were extended in 1930 by further grants for teachers trained at Dacca by the Agricultural Department, and grants were made for gardens and farms. Increased emphasis was put on the importance of physical education. For the latter, grants of money were allowed by the Provincial Government to selected schools and *madrassahs.*

Another important event in 1930 was the introduction of a revised syllabus and revised lists of textbooks for secondary schools. In the same year a government committee of fifteen members was appointed to advise on a policy to be followed by the Government to advance Moslem education in Bengal.[38]

During this same year a new Education Code for Bengal was issued by the Director of Public Instruction. Revised rules for admission and promotion in Government and aided schools came into force in Jauuary of 1931. Although many of the plans and rules were more idealistic than practical it must be admitted that programs and plans are a necessary preliminary if any orderly progress is to be made in education in the province.[39] Nurullah notes that, in the year 1930, modern Indian languages were suggested in Bengal as the media of instruction for all non-language subjects.[40] Such a move is slow to take hold because of traditions. The average Bengali parent knows his son needs English to get a government job.

As the government reports attest, the political unrest abated considerably in 1932, and education moved along more smoothly. The number of schools and pupils in the province made a steady increase, as the chart presented in the beginning of this chapter shows. The financial and economic depression continued, however, and the full scheme of the Primary Education Act for Rural Areas passed in 1930 could not be introduced except in selected areas. Dr. W. A. Jenkins, a special education officer, drew up a plan for Mymemsingh, Chittagong, Pabna, Dinajpur, Noakhali, Birbhum, and Bogra. The Boards of these various areas agreed to work on the scheme. This same Dr. Jenkins published a series of very valuable reports on girls' and women's education in Bengal besides others on de-provincialization of government colleges, new rates of pay for subordinate education services, and reorganizing the inspectorate offices. These reports, however, were published six years later, namely, in 1938.[41]

Most responsible education officials admitted that the education of women in Bengal (and in the whole of India) was far from satisfactory, and yet little progress was made to remedy the situation. The question of co-education came up for argument as is pointed out in the reports. The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1932-33 makes special note of the fact that for the first time in its history two girls were admitted to the Hooghly College near Calcutta. The reason given was that the Principal of this school held that co-education was beneficial.[42]

In line with a retrenchment program introduced because of lack of funds in 1932, some of the grants to secondary schools and colleges were decreased and a general cut ranging from ten to fifteen per cent was made in the salaries of Government employes in the education department. Then too, the accustomed deputation of government servants to the training colleges was stopped for the time being.[43]

Towards the end of 1932, the Parliamentary White Paper containing the proposals of His Majesty's Government with regard to constitutional reforms in India was published. It was, in substance, the recommendations of the Simon Commission referred to before. The proposals were far-reaching. As far as education was concerned, it had the effect of emphasizing the need for more mass education, because one of the qualifications for voting was tied up with literacy under the new scheme.[44]

The Department of Education in Bengal made slow but steady progress. The acute economic distress throughout the country, of course, hampered operations. Maps and statistics were collected by the department in 1934 for a general survey with a view to examining the possibility of consolidation on a large scale. Although institutions of learning decreased during 1934, the number of pupils increased generally. Reduced rates of grants paid to colleges and secondary schools continued. During this same year, in line with a program of improving the health of children, meals were provided in a great number of government and government-aided schools.[45] For four annas (eight cents) per month, a midday meal was provided. Inter-school associations for the better organization of physical education were formed also.

During this year, the Education Department recognized the Nepali language as a medium of instruction for Nepali children in the district of Darjeeling in all classes of primary schools. Darjeeling is in the extreme north portion of Bengal, about 7,000 feet above sea level in the Himalayas. The majority of the population are Mongolian, in contrast to the Caucasian people on the plains.

To combat the evils of political activity among the students, the Government Publicity Department, which had been specially appointed by the Education Department, conducted rather effective anti-terrorist propaganda and utilized a number of traveling lecturers for the purpose.[46] The efforts to maintain progress in education in spite of bitter political uprisings was evidence of genuine concern among the members of the Educational Department of the province.

It is significant to note that in spite of all the agitation for mass education, the government report printed in 1936 shows that Bengal used 18.9 per cent of her funds for primary schools and 19.6 per cent for university education. The top-heavy pattern continued. Bombay province and Madras province spent less than half of their total funds on university education, according to the records of the year studied, 1934.[47]

An education officer, E. R. Biss, has been mentioned earlier in this chapter as promoting a scheme in 1921-22 to provide free primary education in urban and rural areas in Bengal by means of a contribution from the Central Government amounting to half the cost, the rest being paid by local bodies. In the middle thirties, Biss devised a plan, named after him, the *Biss Scheme*, to be used as a temporary expedient in the case of schools which could not be provided with a sufficient staff. It might be described as a shift-system with the children attending part of the day. Usually, the older pupils attend in the afternoon. In this way the same teachers take care of almost double the accustomed number of pupils. Of course, it is not an easy assignment for the teacher. In Bombay, the scheme was quite successful, but in Bengal it had but mediocre success. The plan was followed by five schools in 1935 in Bogra, in north-central Bengal.[48]

The year 1935 in Bengal was notable for the fact that the Government of India gave generous grants to the various provinces for the work of rural reconstruction. Considering that more than ninety per cent of the Indians live in rural areas, the grant was very appropriate, and indicated foresight on the part of the Legislative Assembly that voted these funds. Bengal's Department of Education received two lakhs of rupees. This money was used to establish village halls, libraries, playgrounds, grants to Boy Scout and Girl Guide units and agricultural workshops attached to schools.[49]

There is a somewhat ironical note in the Provincial Report's reference to criticism of the Government Resolution on Education Reform. The latter proposed to give more responsibility for education to the individual provinces and to insist on literacy as a qualification for franchise. The Provincial Report says:

> The publication of a Government Resolution on Education Reform provoked much criticism by the revolutionary nature of its recommendations—an indication in itself of the increased and more intelligent interest displayed in educational matters.[50]

The work of trying to put the Bengal Rural Primary Education Act of 1930 into practice continued. School boards and other agencies for the control and expansion of primary education in the countryside worked hard, but they were faced with serious problems of finance and organization, and in many cases were compelled to limit their efforts to consolidating present activities and making plans for the future.[51]

Two events affecting women's education took place at this time. The scheme for establishing an Advisory Board for Women's Education in Bengal was sanctioned by the government at the close of 1935. In the beginning of 1936 the Sakhawat Memorial School for Moslem girls in Calcutta was made a government institution.[52]

Under the auspices of the Minister of Education in Bengal and the Department of Public Instruction, an Educational Week and Exhibition was held in Calcutta at the close of the year 1935. The Provincial Report says that the exhibition was an unqualified success, and that great credit was due those who provided labor and effort to create more interest in the value of education in this manner.[53]

A pessimistic note appears in the report on the training of primary teachers in Bengal. There were 85 training schools in 1935. Only three had been added by 1938. With 88 training schools, therefore, the annual output was 2,744 teachers for Bengal. Thirty-three and a half per cent of the teachers (in actual numbers, 58,321) continued untrained. The Report states:

> Unless the number of training schools is greatly increased without further delay and unless they are equipped much better than at present, it is almost certain that the introduction of the revised curriculum in the primary schools would do very little good and in spite of the introduction of compulsory primary education, satisfactory results cannot confidently be expected.[54]

In 1937-38 two experts from England made a significant survey of the need for technical education in India. Their report, named after the two individuals in charge, A. Abbot and S. H. Wood, is known as the Abbot-Wood Report on Vocational Education in India. The findings of the report became the subject for discussion in educational meetings and conferences and were quoted in Government Reports.[55] Bengal, perhaps more than any other province, was guilty of undue emphasis on purely literary training in the schools. The most encouraging sign noted in provincial reports designed to remedy the situation has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, when reference was made to the extension of agricultural classes in some of the secondary schools under specially trained teachers.

In 1937, the new constitution granting provincial autonomy went into effect. The Honorable Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq was the new Chief Minister. Extensive tours were made by him and the Minister of Education to get first-hand knowledge of the condition of education. Primary educational conditions received most attention.

During the year, a block grant was given to Calcutta University for five years, for specific purposes and also to meet deficits. Additional grants were made from rural development funds to set up village libraries, village playgrounds, school playgrounds, and some agricultural instruction programs. However, the Calcutta Training School, together with the Hooghly Normal Training Schools, were closed at the end of the year as part of a retrenchment program initiated because of lack of funds.[56]

One of the most important education movements during the years 1937-38 was the adult education movement. Centers were opened in Bengal in rural areas as proposed by the government communiqué of March 30, 1937. Perhaps more credit for interest in adult education is due to Dr. Laubach than to any other individual. In fact, his name is practically a household word in the domain of adult literacy. His reputation was established by his success in the Philippines. In February, 1937, he went to the Punjab in India. His scheme was to utilize a minimum of vocabulary and grammar in teaching adults, and to use every possible readiness they may have to teach them to read even in a superficial manner. He set up as a slogan, "Each one teach one!" so that in a short time the whole area would become literate. Of course, there was much work preparing materials and building up necessary vocabulary lists to carry on such an adult education program. Laubach was successful in the Punjab. In Bengal, an adult education primer following the Laubach method and entitled "Parar Bai," was printed on a large scale and distributed to village adult education associations.[57]

In 1938 the Government of Bengal, in order to coordinate adult education, put it in charge of the Director of Rural Reconstruction.[58] In that same year the official report lists 703 adult education schools in Bengal, with 19,659 pupils. The latter record surpasses all other areas in numbers at least.[59]

An important event in 1937 was Burma's separation from India; from that date, all educational returns for Burma and India were published separately.[60] Sanctioning the establishment of a special board for the improvement of the system of education in the Hill Tracts of Bengal, and the appointment of a Superintendent of Education for these tracts, was an important move.[61] The population of the hill tribes is not exceptionally numerous in Bengal (at least when compared with Assam), but the amount of money and effort expended in educating these hill people up to this time was negligible. The task of educating them had been left to missionaries, who did a commendable job in most instances.

Every discussion of education in India must make some reference to Gandhi's Wardha (Basic Education) Scheme. His was a plan named from the town where he first published it. Under the scheme, Gandhi advocated learning through a craft. The curriculum of the whole elementary school was centered around a basic craft, whence it is also called Basic Education. The Wardha school is expected to support itself by the practice of its handicraft specialty. Gandhi held that poor India needed this kind of industry and education. Strictly speaking, the idea was not new. Gandhi[62] says he got the notion from Kallenbach whom he knew in South Africa. The latter learned the scheme in a Trappist monastery. Theoretically, Pestalozzi, and also Maria Montessori, used the same principle of relating a subject to handicraft.[63] The great champion and defender of Gandhi's scheme was Dr. Zakir Husain.[64]

Critics of Gandhi's scheme regarded it as a sort of forced labor plan, and deplored the lack of emphasis on the intellectual side of education. Of course, the scheme was to cover but a seven-year period and really did not prepare for higher education. Some Moslems suspected that it involved a sort of Hindu revival, but, strictly speaking, Gandhi's scheme makes no provision for religious education, for which fact he is also criticized.[65]

The province of Bengal did not adopt the Basic Scheme of Gandhi in its recognized schools but did encourage private schools to try it.[66] The Sargent Report, which came to be a basic plan for post-war reconstruction in education in India, utilized Gandhi's Wardha scheme to a great extent.[67]

Although 1938 was shadowed in Bengal by economic depression, serious floods and consequent failure of many crops, the level of achievement in education equalled that of the previous year. Among noteworthy events in Bengal during this year, grants for scholarships to pupils belonging to Scheduled Castes (Untouchables) were increased, and a Special Educational Officer was appointed to look after their interests and those of other educationally backward classes.[68]

During that same year, 1938, there was increased attention given to the subject of adult education. Further, district organizers of physical education were appointed in many districts in connection with the Youth Welfare Movement as well as the establishment of physical training camps for schoolteachers.[69]

Lest these developments appear to give cause for unqualified optimism, some comment must be made on wastage in education in Bengal. In 1938, the wastage in Bengal was 84 per cent. That figure represents the fact that, of 100 boys who enter the first form, only 16 survive to the fourth form, which is considered a minimum to achieve literacy.[70] Such a condition in education is anything but satisfactory.

As regards girls in Bengal, in 1938 but 4 per cent reached the literacy stage. That means that, of 100 who enter the first form, only 4 survive to the fourth. No other province in India has such a bad record.[71] Perhaps one of the most important developments of the year with regard to the education of girls in Bengal was the fact that a scheme for free and compulsory education for females was sanctioned by the Government in the Chittagong Municipality in East Bengal.[72] This is a most encouraging sign if Mayhew's comment on women's education is sound:

> A scheme of education which ignores or assigns an inferior position to women may be effective politically and professionally, but will have no enduring effect on personality as a whole, or on racial characteristics.[73]

In closing this chapter, presentation of a list of the controlling agencies of education in Bengal is appropriate. First there is the Education Department, then, in order, the University of Calcutta and the University of Dacca, the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, the District Boards, the Municipalities, District School Boards set up under the Bengal Rural Primary Education Act of 1930, and, finally, religious and philanthropic societies.[74] General education is under the Minister of Education, who is an elected member of the Legislative Assembly.

This chapter brings to a close the story of education in Bengal as it had developed up to within a year of the Second World War. Comparatively, it was a relatively uneventful period for the province even on the political scene. The disruption and general disorder that World War II brought to Bengal was hardly foreshadowed in the beginning of 1939.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EDUCATION IN THE LOWER GANGES THROUGH WORLD WAR II AND AFTER

The educational status of the Lower Ganges area in India during the last nine years must be described against a background of disruption. Even one who has seen it at first hand has difficulty in enumerating all the factors involved. Only a cold and unfeeling person could escape being moved by the story of misfortune that fell to the lot of the Bengali populace. Though Bengal suffered in a marked degree, the whole Far East was affected by the war:

> Eastern Asia felt the full impact of modern warfare. In China, India, and the Netherlands East Indies, the disruption incident to the war has taken place among peoples already restless under conditions of low levels of living and rising aspirations.[1]

It is practically impossible to understand the pattern of education in India during the last decade apart from the political scene. Hindus and Moslems are the vital pivots.

In the Moslem League in India, Jinnah stood almost alone as a guiding force. He broke with the All-India Congress Party in 1920 and never returned. Although the Congress Party had never been made up of Hindus alone, that communal group predominated from the beginning. As was noted in an earlier chapter, the Congress Party was organized in 1885 and the Moslem League had its start in 1906. Many great leaders were associated with the Congress Party besides the fasting and non-violent Gandhi. Nehru stands out as Gandhi's self-appointed successor, but figures like Patel and Rajagopalacharia (commonly called R. C.) and Prasad are extremely important.

Taking advantage of the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935, the great majority of franchised Indians went to the polls in 1937. The Congress Party carried the majority of votes practically everywhere. During the early twenties, the Congress Party and the Moslem League had enjoyed amicable relations. There was comparative cooperation in the early thirties also. However, after 1937 the rift widened. Fearful of Hindu power, the Moslem League unified its strength and began to think in terms of a separate state.[2]

In Bengal Province, which has a slight majority of Moslems, the Moslem League won the elections, in contrast to all the other provinces, where the League lost out. The new premier was Fazlul Huq, who, however, represented the moderate Moslem peasants' organization rather than Jinnah's Moslem League of wealthy landowners.[3]

The new ministries took office throughout India in July, 1937, and a seven-year program of progressive education to liquidate illiteracy was launched. Newspapers and magazines helped the cause and began an educational campaign with vigor.[4]

Then came World War II. Britain was at war with Germany. Within a few hours after the declaration of war, the British Government empowered the Viceroy of India to suspend the "provincial autonomy" provisions of the 1935 Constitution and declare India a belligerent. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, read the message to India on September 11, 1939. Indian leaders were irate. The Working Committee of the Indian Congress demanded to know India's status. In October, the Viceroy issued a White Paper promising eventual self-government, but failed to mention democracy or freedom for India as war aims. Congress was not satisfied. The Moslem League, however, characteristically contrary by this time, was amenable to the wishes of the British leaders.

In the Congress Party, during these critical days, everything was not harmonious. Subhas Bose, a turbulent and fiery figure, became Congress President in 1939. He favored the use of force and violence. However, through Gandhi's efforts, he was led to resign and the more conservative Prasad took over as president. Bose deserted to Japan and worked against Britain. He died in a plane crash soon after. Prasad worked for unity with the Moslem League. Gandhi and Nehru continued to direct important moves of the Congress.

Opposition to Britain's treatment of India mounted and between October 27 and November 15 of 1939, the eight Congress ministries in the province, led by Madras with Rajagopalacharia as Premier, resigned in protest.[5] Although the British-appointed governors had to assume greatly extended powers, education and other government work continued.

In Bengal, under the leadership of Fazlul Huq, the Moslem ministry remained in office. Education followed a shaky but consistent pattern. There was a general increase in the number of pupils in all stages in Bengal, and some improvements were effected. Before discussing these improvements, a comparison of vital statistics with those of the previous year is appropriate:[6]

	In 1938	*In 1939*
Number of Institutions:	64,267	63,305
Total Number of Pupils:	3,486,288	3,688,532
Males:	2,721,915	2,886,459
Females:	764,373	802,073
Total Expenditure:	Rs. 4,93,93,104	5,27,17,333

In this comparison of the two years, an increase in all departments is evident, except for the number of schools. However, the latter is accounted for mostly by the "consolidation versus expansion" policy begun by the Hartog Committee of 1930. The idea was to eliminate poor and undesirable schools and still maintain the level of attendance by shifting the pupils.

During the year, the education department introduced revised syllabi into *guru* and *muallim* training schools as part of a plan to improve teacher-training. Revised curricula for primary schools were also introduced in eight districts, and short refresher courses for teachers in primary schools were held. All these features of the year are noted and discussed at length in the Provincial Report of Bengal.[7]

During the same year, two more District School Boards were established (one in Howrah and the other in 24-Parganas). This was in addition to the fourteen already in existence. Besides this, a statutory primary school tax was imposed in the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali, Faridpur, 24-Parganas and Jalpaiguri.[8]

The Provincial Report also records the fact that thirty-two primary teacher-training centers were attached to selected high schools with a view to increasing the supply of trained teachers for primary schools. Further, refresher courses were offered by the University of Calcutta for secondary school teachers.[9]

There was an extension of free primary education of the Biss Scheme type described in the previous chapter. These were set up in Darjeeling in the Himalayas, Gaibandha, Bankura, Hooghly-Chinsurah, South-Suburban Calcutta, and Bogra. The local board was to provide fifty per cent of the funds necessary for the school, and the Government was to supply the rest. In Bogra, five schools of the shift type (pupils attending school half-days in shifts) were used. In the beginning of 1940, the first matriculation examinations were held according to the new syllabus introduced the previous year. These examinations were given in the vernacular. The latter was a significant move in the direction of cutting down the practice of studying English at the expense of the native tongue just because a command of English was preferable for government jobs.[10]

Provision was made in the Education Budget for larger grants to both boys' and girls' secondary schools and also for girls' primary schools in certain rural areas. More scholarships and stipends were established for Moslems. Since the ministry was Moslem, it was to its special interest to encourage Moslem education, although British and Hindu educators were most cooperative with such a move. As an indication of added interest in Moslem education, a committee was appointed to investigate the problems of madrassah (Moslem school of the higher type) education and to make recommendations.[11]

As an encouragement to women's education, two new colleges were established during the year, namely, the Lady Brabourne College and the South Calcutta Girls' College. At Barisal, the Syedunnessa Girls' Home was established. It was a residential type of four-class High English School for the education of Pardanashin girls in an Islamic atmosphere.[12]

Three new arts colleges for men were affiliated with the University of Calcutta. These were: Haraganga College in Nunshganj, A. H. College in Bogra, and Sir Ashutosh College in Kanungopara (Chittagong). The Hooghly Madrassah was raised to the status of an Islamic Intermediate College.[13]

To encourage education among some neglected groups, special facilities were provided for Scheduled Caste Hindus (Untouchables) by means of liberal grants to schools for such groups and also by the award of special scholarships. The constant difficulty was that higher castes would not allow their own children to sit side by side with the Untouchables. The latter were usually poor people and had no means of providing themselves with schools or of improving their status generally. One of the greatest champions for the cause of the Untouchables besides Gandhi was Ambedkar, himself an Untouchable. Gandhi was fully aware of Ambedkar's power and vigor. The latter became a prominent official in the new Indian government.

One of the last items to be recorded in the Provincial Report for the close of 1939 is the appointment of a Physical Education Directress for Bengal. To implement the health of women further, a College of Physical Education for Women was established.[14]

The Indian political situation became intensified. The war in Europe continued, and Britain was not faring well. Indian leaders strove to get a promise of dominion status from Britain at first, but later thought only of Swaraj (self-rule). On March 1, 1940, the Congress Working Committee declared itself for self-rule, and the whole Congress voted to carry out a campaign of civil disobedience to force Britain's hand.

Jinnah, the Moslem leader, feared that a civil disobedience move in India would unite Moslems and Hindus in a common cause. At the annual meetings of the Moslem League in Lahore shortly after the Congress meeting, Jinnah proposed the demand of partition or Pakistan, and the Moslem League voted it as a resolution.[15] This became the famous Lahore Resolution, and the Moslem League, under Jinnah's steady hand, stuck to that demand until it achieved the present division of India.

Jinnah's and the Moslem League's demand for partition in 1940 had a vital relation to Bengal in the Lower Ganges region because Bengal was over half Moslem (about 33 million Moslems to 25 million Hindus),[16] and it was difficult to decide which way it would go in the proposed partition. Would Bengalis consent to the partition of their province? As a previous chapter has shown, they had forced the government in 1912 to undo the partition into East and West Bengal made by Lord Curzon. Nationalist Moslems resigned from the League. They denounced Jinnah's plan and pointed out that there were non-Moslem minorities in Moslem areas and vice versa. Jinnah did not answer objections, but stuck to his resolve that there should be an independent Moslem state.

During the next year, in a disagreement over the National Defense Council, the Moslem Premier of Bengal, Fazlul Huq, resigned from the Moslem League with a spirited comment on Jinnah's arbitrary methods:

> . . . the principles of democracy and autonomy in the All-India Moslem League are being sub-ordinated to the arbitrary wishes of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority even over the destiny of 35 millions of Moslems in the province of Bengal. . . . As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League.[17]

However, it was not Jinnah's moves that held up the mass civil disobedience campaign proposed by the Congress. It was the downfall of the Chamberlain Government in Britain and the opening of the Nazi blitzkrieg. Nehru was a strong and steadying influence on the Congress, as was Gandhi. There was something of the good sportsman in the Congress that hesitated to declare non-obedience when Britain was down. Then the Churchill Government took over.

Through Nehru's influence an offer of cooperation in the war effort was tendered in the name of the Congress to the Government of India on the condition that Britain guarantee India's independence after the war. After some conferences the Government answered.

In August, 1940, the Viceroy, Linlithgow, came out with the "unhappy August offer," proposing that the Viceroy's Council be enlarged and that representative Indians should serve on the Council. The offer fell short of any real transfer of power. There were vague references to representative bodies which would have the right to form the proposed new constitution after the war. The talks broke down. Gandhi and the Congress proclaimed civil disobedience in September, 1940. The Government retaliated with the customary arrests.

Brailsford says, ". . . in all, about 12,000 men and women were imprisoned or interned, among them six ex-premiers of provinces, twenty-nine former ministers and 290 members of provincial legislatures."[18]

In March, 1941, a leader of the moderate element, Sapru, made proposals to the government for settlement after a Non-Party Conference in Bombay. The proposals had some results. The Executive Council was expanded to include non-official Indians, and the National Defense Council was set up. It was to include twenty-two Indians from the Provinces and nine from the States. It was in connection with this council that Huq, the Premier of Bengal, broke with Jinnah and fought his arbitrary methods.[19]

The war in Europe continued, and Hitler attacked Russia in June, 1941. His early successes alarmed the globe. His successful drive through the Near East even threatened India. In August, Churchill and Roosevelt met at sea and formulated the Atlantic Charter, stating that they ". . . [respected] the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and . . . [wished] to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."[20]

Indian leaders, naturally, took up Article Three of the Atlantic Charter, but when Churchill got back to London he made a statement to the effect that ". . . the joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire."[21]

Goshal[22] insists this was a rebuff to India. Smith says that Churchill's statement was misunderstood in India. The fact is that the Prime Minister's statement was greeted with dismay and anger. Churchill was lampooned and caricatured. Even in the United States, there was some shaking of heads over his "toryism" and his "imperialism."[23]

Almost everyone remembers Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, and the Declaration of War on Japan by the United

States. Britain followed suit. Japan moved quickly according to plan. Hongkong fell, Malaya, the Netherlands Indies, Singapore. This last stronghold was thought to be impregnable, but it was in the hands of the Japs by February 15, 1942. The Japs moved on, and Rangoon, in Burma, fell on March 8. Military experts could visualize Germany moving through the Near East and shaking hands with Japan in India.[24]

Nehru, Azad, the elected Congress President, and a number of prominent Congress leaders had been released from prison shortly before Pearl Harbor. Under Nehru, a large number of the Indian leaders agreed to support Britain and to defend India. Although British leaders feared an invasion of India, there were many Indians who would have welcomed the Japs. With the fall of Rangoon, the Japs began to threaten the Burma Road, the lifeline to China. In February, 1942, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang went to India to confer with British and Indian leaders.

In a speech delivered at this time, Chiang said:

> I sincerely hope and I confidently believe that our ally Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people in India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power, so that they may be in a position further to develop their material and spiritual strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for the securing of victory, but also a turning point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am convinced that this would be the wisest policy, which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.[25]

Jap successes continued. Into Bengal, bordering on Burma, which was overrun by the Jap armies, came hordes of refugee Burmese and also Indians who had been living and working in Burma. There was a concomitant strain on food and housing in Bengal. To add to the distress, British military units, and later American forces too, moved into Bengal and requisitioned the larger and more important buildings. In some cases, these buildings were the schools. The famous Bethune College for Women in Calcutta was taken over by the soldiery. Immorality was rampant. There were shortages of food. Prostitution was rapidly increasing and needy parents often sold their girls, especially in East Bengal. In many parts of the latter area, fishing was an important industry. But the Military Plan of the British called for a requisition of all river and sea craft lest these fall into the hands of the enemy Japs. The policy worked untold hardships on the people of East Bengal because they depended on fish for their food to a large extent. The provincial government proved it could not handle the chaotic situation, and yet, through it all, the Central Government under the Viceroy in New Delhi was apparently following a policy of non-intervention.

In the year 1942, two developments stand out: the Cripps proposals, and the "Quit India" program of the embittered Indians.

Shortly after the fall of Rangoon, the British government became concerned about the situation in India. The Churchill cabinet needed and wanted Indian cooperation against the threatening Jap forces. An offer of changes involving Indian participation in the government was formulated, and Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India to deal with Indian leaders. This was in March, 1942.

The British formula that was proposed was described as rather "cut and dried," and it was up to the Indians to accept or refuse. As Brailsford says,[26] the British were not aware of the fact that the interest of the Indian leaders had shifted from the future to the present. Most of the British proposals were for the future. Indians wanted participation in the government and responsibility if they were to take part in the war and they wanted them at once. Gandhi called the British proposals a "post-dated check"[27] and refused to have anything to do with the whole affair. The Indian leaders like Nehru wanted an Indian People's Army and a sort of Home Guard.[28] The British would not accede to this. Cripps proposed that an Indian serve as Defense Member while General Wavell would be known as the War Member. When the list of the activities of which the Defense Member was to have charge was published, it included public relations, demobilization, petroleum supplies, representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council, amenities and welfare of troops, canteens, certain non-technical schools, stationery, printing and forms for the Army, and reception of foreign missions.[29] Nehru and other Indians remarked that the list was "a revealing one" and rejected it.

Brailsford, the liberal Britisher, writes of the list:

> What enemy of England and India drafted this list? Or is there at Headquarters in New Delhi a reckless satirist? But perhaps we should admire the patient industry which scraped up these odds and ends. Petroleum, canteens and stationery: but why not red tape and pipeclay? One tries to imagine Nehru in his first broadcast as Defense Minister rousing a liberated people to a delirium of warlike enthusiasm by reading it out—"stationery, printing and forms for the Army."[30]

The Cripps mission broke down completely. Cripps returned to London. This was in April, 1942. Indian leaders doubted Britain's sincerity. Nationalism and bitterness were at a high peak in India. As noted before, Subhas Chandra Bose, who had once been mayor of Calcutta, and also had been elected president of the All-India Congress, had deserted to the Japs. An Indian National Army was organized in Burma to fight against Britain. It was made up for the most part of Indian soldiers who had deserted the British Indian Army.

Among Americans there was feeling against the British for their treatment of India. In April, over a nationwide network, Lord Halifax, who was the British Ambassador to the United States, spoke in behalf of the British position. Sir Stafford Cripps wrote in the *New York Times* justifying Britain's stand. Churchill gave his views to Parliament.[31] However, the most serious thing that happened as a result of the breakdown of the Cripps Mission was the "Quit India" movement initiated in August of 1942.

The Cripps Mission failed in April, but it was not until August that a carefully timed revolt took place. On August 8, in Bombay, the National Committee of Congress adopted a policy of uncompromising revolt. The revolt was far from non-violent. Rails were torn up, cables cut, police stations and government buildings were set afire, strikes broke out. The British government moved quickly in India. Congress leaders were arrested and put in prison. Planes and troops were utilized to mow down the rioters. During the period of the revolt, at least 60,000 Indians were arrested, 940 killed, and 1,630 wounded.[32] The Indians were sullen and bitter throughout their sub-continent. American troops then in India were ordered to carry arms at all times for protection but not to take part in any of the disturbances. Many of them began to feel insecure over and above the expected insecurity in war areas.

Churchill was criticized by many, including Wendell Willkie, in the United States. In reply, he spoke in November, 1942, with characteristic bombast:

> Let me, however, make this clear, in case there should be any mistake about it in any quarter: We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. For that task, if ever it were prescribed, some one else would have to be found and, under democracy, I suppose the nation would have to be consulted.[33]

The war continued, in Europe and in the Near and Far East. More and more troops moved into India. The Japanese bombed American and British air bases in Assam, north of Bengal. However, the "over-the-hump" flights carried vital supplies into

China. A road through northern Burma was begun. Japanese forces moved up to stop the Americans and the British. Throughout Bengal, blackout rules were enforced. Indians feared to stay, and yet they feared to leave their meager homes.

The war effort dragged on. Congress leaders were kept in prison for almost three years, beginning with 1942. This was to the advantage of Jinnah and the Moslem League. He consolidated his position as spokesman for the League and for most of the millions of Moslems in India. This is an important point, because these years gave Jinnah a chance to develop bargaining power for Pakistan, implying the division of India.

The year 1943 was a disastrous one for Bengal. It was the year of the big famine. Death and disease were rampant in the province. In March of that year, the Moslem minister of Bengal, Fazlul Huq, resigned over issues that had arisen because of the developing food shortage in the province. The Governor, Sir John A. Herbert, had requested the resignation. Furthermore, Fazlul Huq was not on good terms with the Moslem League, as noted in a previous section of this chapter, because he criticized the arbitrary and absolute powers of Jinnah. Another Moslem League ministry took over in Bengal under the leadership of Nazim-ud-Din.[34] The latter was a mediocre minister, and turned in a performance that was far from commendable during the war and the famine of 1943. Only those can understand who have witnessed the horrors of the famine, with men and women and children falling dead of starvation on the streets of Calcutta, and being torn asunder by ravening vultures.

The famine in Bengal at this time was not entirely unforeseen. Linlithgow, the Viceroy at the time, had been chairman of an agricultural commission before he became Viceroy of India. The Central Government was aware of the accumulating shortages in Bengal. The Bengal Government had been warned by Indian leaders, yet nothing was done. By November, 1943, the situation was really serious. How many died before the food situation improved perhaps will never be known. Indian newspapers said six million was a fair estimate. People came into Calcutta from the villages hoping to find food, but in vain. The sights were pitiable.

Parkin quotes an observer who sums up the major factors which caused the Bengal famine:

> . . . dislocation of transport; inflation of the currency; steep rise in food prices; a cyclone calamity in south-west Bengal; a crop-disease calamity in parts of east Bengal; hoarding of several kinds by various sections of the community—peasants, merchants, the army. A minor circumstance is the loss of the usual Burma import. . . .[35]

Linlithgow retired as Viceroy of India, and Field Marshal Wavell was appointed to succeed him. Disregarding the pomp and ceremony that were characteristic of his predecessor, the new Viceroy visited the famine-afflicted areas of Bengal to see for himself. He gained the good will of many Indians. Gradually the food situation was remedied. A commission was appointed to investigate the causes of the evils in Bengal. It was called the Woodhead Famine Inquiry Commission. When its report was finally published two years later, it indicted the conduct of the Central Government of India under Linlithgow, and also the Provincial Government under the governorship of Sir John A. Herbert and the ministry of Nazim-ud-Din. Parkin insists that one factor in the situation was the old "Permanent Settlement" of Cornwallis. He says that the provinces with "temporary settlements" had a corps of regular land-revenue officials intimately familiar with the countryside and available in emergencies for applying policies of food control.[36] Wherever the blame lay, no one could recall the dead or alleviate the suffering of the Bengal populace. When life itself is hard to maintain, the function of schools and education in general is of little or no concern to the majority of the people. And so it was in many parts of Bengal in those days.

The war continued, and Allied plans and efforts showed successes in Burma. The Japanese made a determined effort to hold their own, and even succeeded in invading India northeast of Bengal in the Manipur area. However, all their efforts were doomed. British and Americans bombed them mercilessly, and land forces, helped by airborne troops, pushed the Japanese before them, annihilating whole units in the march, though not without losses themselves.

The pressure of the war was lessened somewhat in Bengal and in the whole of India, now that the Japanese were on the run. Efforts were made through Rajagopalicharia to arrange a meeting of Jinnah, the Moslem leader, and Gandhi, the guiding figure of the Congress. The latter was released from prison for the purpose, and the two met in Bombay in September 1944.[37] The conferences broke down, Jinnah insisted on partition, and Gandhi wanted to keep India intact if Britain were to grant full independence or at least dominion status.

In the wake of the breakdown of discussions between Jinnah and Gandhi, which proved that the Congress and the Moslem League could not agree, a Conciliation Committee, under Sapru, mentioned above, tried to form a constitution for India, and submitted it to Britain. It was cabled to London, where the Viceroy, Wavell, had been recalled for consultation on proposed plans for India. The proposals were discussed and written about until Wavell went to India in June, 1945, with a plan for representative government. The problem, simply stated, was that the Congress and the League could not come to an agreement on how representation should be determined by the new constitution.

Meanwhile, Germany surrendered, and, finally, in August, Japan surrendered too. The war was over, and India and the Far East faced a reconstruction program that would challenge the most stouthearted of peoples.

In August, 1945, Pethick-Lawrence was appointed the new Secretary of State for India, to replace Amery, the former incumbent. Amery had never been popular, and his removal from office was welcomed throughout India—especially by Indian nationalists.[38]

Furthermore, Churchill and his Cabinet were out of office, and the new Labour Government in Britain, under Prime Minister Attlee, was interested in independence for India. The Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, went to India in early 1946 as head of a mission, and the word "independence" was repeatedly used in the discussions. The British were proposing to withdraw from India. However, the representative elements in India could not agree on how "Free India" was to be governed. The political maneuvering continued. Most of the leaders of India felt they could continue their bickering as long as Britain did not set a definite date for her withdrawal. Moves and counter-moves by the Congress Party and the Moslem League continued through 1946.

Bengal was not a pleasant place in 1946. The British and American military units had almost all moved out. The province "was a picture of Eastern corruption and social irresponsibility unchecked."[39]

Times were bad in Bengal in the aftermath of the war. Food was scarce and dear. "To be sure, the Bengal ministry set up police cordons between market areas, forbidding free trade between the areas. The police could be bribed, however, and cordons merely made the rice trade between the surplus and the deficient areas slower and more expensive. This is India's 'free' market at work, walking a thin line of disaster between apprehension and actuality."[40]

The saddest and most serious event in Bengal in 1946 was the religious outbreak between Moslems and Hindus in August. More than four thousand persons were slaughtered in the streets of Calcutta. It was the greatest single religious outbreak in India in the last hundred years.

Through all the political bickering the Hindu community could not earn the confidence of the Moslems. On the other hand Hindus had developed an emotional solidarity in response to Moslem agitation. The traditionally mild and passive Hindu became sensitive and, finally, militant, as the lines of cleavage hardened between the two groups. The Moslem League was insisting on partition. Bengal would be involved in the partition because Bengal's population figures gave the Moslems a slight majority. But Calcutta, the metropolis itself, was predominantly Hindu. Moslems wanted the whole of Bengal if it came to partition. In Calcutta they began attacking Hindus. The latter retaliated, and the resultant killings in August, 1946, shocked the world even though it had become partially accustomed to violence in the world war that had just been terminated. Gandhi and other leaders strove with all their powers to quell the riots. They pleaded against the insane slaughter. Of course, the rioting and slaughter was not confined to Bengal alone. However, it was most serious in that province.[41]

On the political scene, Britain finally took a far-reaching step. On February 20, 1947, she announced that on or before June, 1948, she would relinquish her power into Indian hands, and walk out. The Indian leaders knew they had to make decisions now. With the announcement of the proposed walkout, Britain withdrew the aging Wavell as Viceroy and appointed the popular Lord Louis Mountbatten, who had been Far East Commander-in-Chief during the war. His was the duty to hand over the power and reins to leaders of the country that Britain had ruled, in part or entirely, for almost two whole centuries. Among the top leaders that came to the fore in 1947 there were Nehru, Rajagopalicharia, Patel, Azad, and others less outstanding, for the All-India Congress. Gandhi was still a power, though not actually holding office. The Moslem League followed Jinnah.

Finally, Congress agreed to the partition plan that Jinnah and the League had demanded since 1940. August 15, 1947, was decreed as the day when the two new states would be created. Pakistan was the name of the Moslem State. It occupied the Sind province and adjoining territories in the northwest. In the east it comprised about half of Bengal. There were to be East and West Pakistan. At first it was thought that the remainder of India would be called Hindustan. However, the name did not take. India or Indian Union is used.

August 15 came. There were sporadic riots before that time, but the worst was to come. Suhrawardy, the premier of Bengal, declared that day a public holiday. It coincided with a Moslem festival. Rioting started again in Bengal. East Bengal followed suit. When the toll was finally taken, the death roll came to about 4,700.[42] Efforts were made on the part of the Moslem League and the Congress leaders to quell the rioting. Finally it subsided.

Lord Louis Mountbatten stayed on as the representative of Britain, to hand over complete power in 1948 when the Indian Constitution was to be completed. He became the symbol of the Britain that won India back by returning it to the Indians.[43] The demonstrations that followed Lord "Louie" and his lady throughout India had never been duplicated since the days of Lord Ripon, the liberal and popular Viceroy of 1880.

After the acceptance of Partitioned India was a *fait accompli* and the rioting had ceased, the people of Bengal began to establish order again and to repair the disruption of trade and transportation caused by the years of the war and the riots of its aftermath. Much hardship accompanied the transfer of Moslems to the Pakistan area and Hindus from Pakistan to India. Some stayed and braved the future even though their communal group was not in control of their home area. Fears of communist agitation arose, and many Indians were jailed for their activities. Even today, this fear of communism continues.

Congress and Moslem League leaders in high places were often no better examples than many of the British officials whom they had decried through the years of agitation for independence. There continues a struggle for political advantage in the new government. A most encouraging sign, however, is the fact that numerous unions of Hindu and Moslem students have sprung up in India. These might be termed "Peace Leagues."

It becomes evident to the reader that the political and social scene was the main concern of the people of the Lower Ganges during the last decade. The struggles during the war and after disrupted the pattern of life for most people in Bengal.

As far as educational developments are concerned, there are practically no reports or surveys of Bengal since 1942. The writer can give a general picture of conditions from his own observations, and from comments made by people in India with whom he has corresponded since 1944.

There was little actual devastation of the land in Bengal during the war. The Japanese did not invade the country, but occupancy by British, South African, and American troops did change the scene because huge and numerous anti-aircraft gun placements were set up, airfields were built, housing was requisitioned or built for soldiers, and whole areas were taken over to provide storage for the vast stores of equipment necessary for the war effort.

Jobs were provided for Indians who came to live in shacks on the edge of the camps. Some brought their families, and others came alone and endured the separation.

Japanese bombings were sporadic and of the nuisance type in the Bengal area, in contrast to those suffered in upper Assam. Except for one raid on the Kiddipore docks near Calcutta, there was little property damage or loss of life because of the air attacks. Of course, scares and rumors caused many to take their meager belongings and move to the interior, traveling by train where possible, or otherwise by oxcart. Now and then, feverish rumors caused serious hardships. Someone would start a scare by expressing doubt about the value of paper money. All Indian coins would be withheld by the uninformed and ignorant populace for a period of time. Baseless rumors scared shopkeepers into closing their shops or moving their wares to the interior.

What about the schools? A number of teachers and students went to the hill areas because of war fears, and caused more strain on the available facilities. However, the great majority of the people, who were the poor, were content to wait and see what would develop, since they were fearful of losing the little land and few belongings they had.

The writer saw many of the single-teacher village schools continue to maintain classes even in the midst of the darker years of the war, when the Japanese were most successful and many people wondered whether Burma would be retaken for many years, and whether India might be lost to the Japanese too. People continued to do what they were accustomed to do, but in a kind of daze and in the atmosphere of insecurity. People went to the fields each day. Boys, for the most part, as was the common pattern, trudged to their little school at the edge of the town, where the memoriter methods of learning continued as they had for hundreds of years.

As has been pointed out, school buildings were often requisitioned in and near the larger cities for military purposes. Sometimes villages were ordered to pack up and move because the army needed that particular area. It was a common sight to see villagers gathered in knots each evening and fearfully discussing items of news brought by some wandering money lender, fortune teller, or other traveler.

The writer often watched the scene in villages where the natives gaped at army vehicles on the roads, and bombers and transports in the air, and then went back to their scratching of the soil in rice fields because there was nothing else to do. The scene didn't vary much in places like Bishnapore, Panagarh, Pandaveswar, Bankura, and Burdwan in West Bengal, and Bandura, Tezgaon, and Argatala in East Bengal.

Mission schools, in East Bengal especially, were crowded in 1944, and a great number of the pupils were orphans whose parents had died in the evacuation of Burma, in famines, or in riots.

Secondary schools and colleges maintained classes with a few exceptions, with an apparent filling of the classrooms and perhaps an increased average enrollment, although no actual figures in reports or surveys are available.

Students went to classes at Dacca University in East Bengal. Calcutta University continued to operate and, in collaboration with the military authorities, special courses on tropical medicine were added to the curriculum in the Medical College. Allied medical officers attended in selected and staggered groups.

Perhaps the most serious disruption because of requisitioning of buildings was evident in cities on the extreme Eastern border, v. g., Chittagong, Comilla, Dacca, and Sylhet, where hospitalized Allied soldiers from the Arakan and the Manipur fronts had to be housed.

There was little or no direction for the schools from the Central Offices of Education, since political changes and other more serious problems hindered planning. Some teachers found more lucrative jobs as clerks in Allied military offices, and deserted their schools. Teacher training and recruiting was neglected, and school buildings got little or no attention.

Mission schools, as the writer observed, operated under the severe handicap of lack of funds, since the European sources were closed almost entirely, and American sources were hampered by the clamor to go "all out" for the war effort. During the famines, in places like Dacca, the starving men and women and children gathered at the gates of the mission schools for a meager handout of soup and rice to keep alive.

Some surveys have been under way since the war ended, and figures on the educational picture will soon be published. However, economic problems will get first attention, since people must have the means to maintain life and some security before they can afford the luxury of education. Recent general reports on education in India give little new information on Bengal.[44]

East Bengal is a part of Pakistan. There, plans are formulated and discarded from day to day, as mission leaders say. Bickering continues among leaders who cannot decide how much the ideals of Islam should determine the educational pattern and the curriculum. Leaders in private schools are fearful of expending funds on projects in education because of their uncertain future. Perhaps the state will take over everything. More recently, educators have been finding wider areas of agreement and have become more optimistic about educational planning.

West Bengal is following the basic pattern formulated in broad outlines by John Sargent, an Englishman, who continued as Advisor on Education to the Government of India. The Sargent Plan was published in 1945 under the title, "Post-War Educational Development in India."[45]

The Sargent Plan comes to grips with the problem of compulsory primary education. It provides for educating all children between the ages of six and fourteen. The program calls for 800,000 teachers in the beginning. This number is to be increased until, at the end of forty years, there will be almost two million teachers responsible for the instruction of fifty-two million pupils annually. The plan contemplates the expenditure of a billion dollars a year after it has begun to operate.[46]

Any cursory reading of Indian books or periodicals of the past few decades will show much criticism of the lack of expansion due to British conservation with regard to education in India. With the Sargent Plan, criticism has shifted to the other extreme. Many Indians insist that the plan is too formidable. Somewhere a balance must be aimed at and achieved.

As to the land of the Lower Ganges, it has lost the unity it achieved after repeal of the partition law of Curzon in 1912. Bengal is a divided province once again. Gandhi, who was the guiding power of the Congress and a potent influence for unity and tolerance, is dead at the hands of an assassin—one of his own people, a Hindu. Jinnah, the Moslem leader, was physically weak and failing[47] long before he died in 1949. His successor, Liaquat Ali Khan, has a tremendous task before him. West Pakistan is separated from East Pakistan by more than a thousand miles. There is no connecting corridor. It is a grotesquely split country that Ali Khan rules. East Pakistan, which is made up principally of East Bengal, is an especially troublesome area.

Perhaps the wisest move and most encouraging development of recent date was the friendly conference that Nehru and Ali Khan held in New Delhi. They made a pact to suppress ideological conflict, and pledged themselves to promote equality among all citizens and to liquidate fanatical movements on both sides. Maybe the growing pains of India and Pakistan are over and a new era is about to be ushered in.

CHAPTER NINE

EDUCATION IN THE LOWER GANGES RIVER AREA OF INDIA: A RETROSPECT

THE STORY OF education as it developed in the Lower Ganges area of India has been described in detail in the preceding chapters. Perhaps the mass of detail has at times obscured the highlights of the pattern. A retrospect in broad outline is profitable, therefore, before attempting to draw up a charter for the future.

No doubt, it is evident to the reader that the problems of the Lower Ganges are varied and difficult and complex, besides being unique. They are best understood in terms of the history of that area from its earliest recording. That history has been described with special reference to education.

The history of education in the Lower Ganges area is especially important because, in miniature, it illustrates to a great degree the pattern of the whole subcontinent of India. It was in this region that the British set up the Central Offices of the Government as it operated under the East India Company, and, later, directly under the Crown.

The serious and immediate problems can be summarized briefly as follows: The unsatisfactory development of professional and vocational education, the growing unemployment among the highly educated youth, the impractical curriculum of the universities and the secondary schools, the task of providing for training and remuneration as well as the recruiting of teachers, the need for competent educational surveys, the early liquidation of adult illiteracy, the introduction and enforcement of compulsory education, the prevention and reduction of wastage and stagnation, the inadequacy of female education, education of backward communities, education of the handicapped, waifs, and delinquents, physical education, including medical examination, treatment, and nourishment of school children. Problems connected with language and proposed religious training might be added to this cursory list.

Since Clive's decisive victory at Plassey in 1757, Britain had retained control of India. Other European powers either relinquished their claims on India or minimized their interests. Britain was the great power in India, and continued to strengthen her hold from the time of Clive. As a result, there has been, in a marked degree, a continuous intrusion of Western culture into India. Rather than adopting or adapting the indigenous culture of that Oriental country, the British, representing Western culture, superimposed their pattern. A unique political pattern was developed in India. Its fashioning was decided rather by conflicts between the cultures of the East and the West than through the arbitrary decisions of Britain and its representatives in India.

The ninety years from 1858 to 1948 have been the most significant in the history of modern India. In 1858, Queen Victoria declared India an empire. Up to that time the affairs of India had been under the control of the East India Company, which dated back to the time of Queen Elizabeth. After the decree of Queen Victoria, the sub-continent of India was ruled jointly by the Viceroy in India and the Secretary of the India Office in London. General policy and major changes were voted by the Parliament.

With a functioning centralized government, education was more carefully planned than it had been under the East India Company. Sporadic efforts of individuals and groups no longer determined the pattern.

Even though from the year 1858 education was closely regulated according to the policies of the government, those same policies were formulated as the result of a hundred years of important efforts on the part of Indian and British individuals, missionary groups, and the British government as represented by the East India Company.

In brief, the highlights of educational developments before 1858 were as follows: Provision for government funds for education in the East India Company Charter of 1813; Macaulay's Minute of 1835, ordering that instruction be imparted through the medium of English rather than in any of the Oriental languages; formulation of the "downward filtration theory"—the policy of educating the few and trusting that the benefits would filter down to the masses; Lord Hardinge's Resolution in 1844, stipulating that Indians with a knowledge of English were to be favored among applicants for government service; Wood's Despatch of 1854, decrying the "filtration theory" and advocating mass education, and also a system of grant-in-aid from government funds to help private schools; founding of the universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay in 1857 as examining agencies, according to the British plan, rather than as teaching institutions of higher learning.

Immediately after the formation of the Empire of India, the Central Government made a comprehensive review of education, and published Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859. It summarized the recommendations of Wood's Despatch of 1854, and formulated the official policy that the government aimed to pursue. The time for free and unregulated efforts on the part of individuals and religious groups was over. Government was in the business too. Policies of school inspection and the organization of model institutions were carried out. However, throughout the whole of India, private schools retained their strong positions and even prospered because the grant-in-aid system aided them financially.

At irregular intervals, the government officials ordered reviews of education. In 1882 a competent commission (called the Hunter Commission after its chairman) was appointed by Lord Ripon. Its purpose was to report the progress of education according to the recommendations of the Despatch of 1854 and its sequel of 1859. The commission criticized the slow progress of mass education and recommended that the government withdraw more completely from higher education and leave that function to private institutions which should be helped by an expansion of the grant-in-aid system. Evidently, such a policy was influenced by missionary representatives who were in key places both in Britain and in India.

As might be expected, the people of India did not learn English in the schools without imbibing typical Western ideals—concepts of freedom and self-rule. Nationalism began to manifest itself, and, in 1885, the Congress Party was formed to represent the interests of India in government policy. Although the Congress was organized by Hume, an Englishman, merely to provide an organ by means of which Indians could make recommendations and express their problems and wants, it soon became the mouthpiece of a nationalism that thought in terms of self-government.

In 1889, the Voelcker Survey brought attention to the serious need of vocational education in India. In that same year, Lord Lansdowne pointed out the definite problem that was developing because of the fact that the universities were training far too many men to fill the openings for employment in government offices and in the professions.

To avoid evident inefficiency in India's educational pattern, a move for centralized control was initiated. An important individual in this whole movement was the energetic Lord Curzon, who appointed a commission to examine university organization in 1902. Two years later, the Universities Act was passed, authorizing a system of centralized government control of the universities which was as thoroughgoing as any in the world.

The partition of Bengal in 1906 by Curzon stirred up nationalistic fervor. Native protests threatened the foundations of government as had the Mutiny of 1857. The energetic and efficient Lord Curzon represented a phase of Western culture that irritated the slow moving East, which thought and lived in terms of centuries rather than in terms of immediate urgencies. In 1906, another organ of nationalism was set up, the Moslem League.

In 1912, with the moving of the capital of India from Calcutta in Bengal to New Delhi in the United Provinces, the Bengal Presidency became independent of the burdensome and extensive offices and forces of the Central Government. Furthermore, through the cancellation of the Curzon partition of six years before, Bengal became a unified and self-motivating province.

That same year and those that immediately followed were characterized by the struggles of Gokhale, Tilak, and their party followers to introduce universal compulsory education throughout India. Their efforts had little immediate success, but they supplied the ferment that ultimately brought results.

In 1917, the British government appointed the Calcutta University Commission (also called the Sadler Commission after its chairman) to review the weakness of universities, colleges, and secondary schools, and to make recommendations. The commission was primarily concerned with Bengal, but its recommendations were applicable to other parts of India. In fact, the recommendations were taken up and adopted in the various provinces and states of the whole sub-continent of India with far more eagerness and alacrity than they were in Bengal, the province of their origin.

By this time, the Congress Party had formulated the principle of "Swaraj" or self-rule, and independence movements gained recognition and strength. In the early twenties, the vehemence and bitterness of the struggle for independence left its mark on education and interfered with its machinery. Nationalism had taken possession of the minds of college and university students, who deserted their study halls and followed the fiery leadership of political enthusiasts advocating political disobedience to the representatives of foreign sovereignty.

In 1921, the provisions of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 were put into effect, and the Dyarchy Government took over. Provinces assumed responsibility for education in their individual areas, but the funds for educational projects were kept in the central government departments. Finance, therefore, was classified among the "reserved" subjects in the new governmental constitution, and education came under the title of a "transferred" subject.

Among the great figures who led the struggle for independence, Mahatma Gandhi stands out, together with Pandit Nehru. Oftentimes, the political status of leaders was measured by the number and length of periods spent in prison for defying the British government.

The Commission of 1929 (also called the Hartog Commission after its chairman) was appointed. It criticized the change of responsibility for education from the Central Government to the Provinces in 1921. The Commission advocated a policy of consolidation and improvement rather than the accustomed policy of expansion. The Commission's policy was accepted by the government until the Second World War broke out.

Compulsory education bills were introduced in the various provinces, and finally, in 1930, Rural Compulsory Education was introduced in Bengal. However, the mere passing of the bill was far from guaranteeing its observance even on a modified scale in the midst of a world depression that enforced retrenchment in practically all governments and departments in both the East and the West.

In 1937, Provincial Autonomy was introduced, and each province assumed both the planning and the financial responsibility for education in its own area. The lack of funds and capable leaders crippled most of the commendable programs of education, and a snail-pace progress was all the provincial reports on education could record. To add to the deadening influence on the educational pattern, political struggles, and the concomitant disobedience outbreaks, continued to clog the wheels of the educational machinery.

The period of World War II, with its aftermath of political turmoil, was a time of disorganization and general disruption for India. The land of the Lower Ganges, bordering the Japanese-occupied country of Burma, suffered food shortages, invasion by displaced refugees, occupation by British and American military units, famines, and murderous communal riots involving Hindus and Moslems.

Education development was not only stopped during those war years, but its meager facilities were subjected to so much general neglect that scores of years of untiring effort will at most restore a pre-war status of education which was far from commendable in comparison with that recorded in other countries having a comparable population and land area.

Plans for the future of education in the land of the Lower Ganges must involve reorganization of economy and industry, because the province of Bengal has been torn into two parts again as it was in the time of Curzon in 1906. But now Bengal has been divided as spoils by the two independent states of the new, independent India. The Central Government of Pakistan, representing Moslem interests, controls the educational pattern of East Bengal, while the larger and far better organized Indian Union, representing Hindu interests for the most part, fashions the pattern of education in West Bengal.

In miniature, therefore, as was mentioned in the beginning of this retrospect, the land of the Lower Ganges represents the problem of the whole sub-continent of India, where a general literacy of scarcely twelve per cent, a backward economy, and communal rivalries mar the fascinating record of one of the world's most ancient and most interesting civilizations.

CHAPTER TEN

A CHARTER FOR THE FUTURE

A SEARCH FOR significant elements through the examination of education in its context of people and surroundings, in the light of historical developments, characterized the preceding chapters of this study. The chapter immediately before this one is a brief retrospect, outlining the highlights of the unique background of India in general and the Lower Ganges area in particular. The present chapter proposes a charter for the future. To be practicable, it must look to the past and its lessons.

India's leaders have formulated a constitution for her new political future. A parallel need is a charter for India's educational future. To a great extent, the sub-continent's political status will rise or fall with the efficiency of educational planning and implementation.

The educational charter for India must take into account the indigenous influences that have survived, and also the superimposed culture which resulted from the British rule of the last 150 years. In other words, there must be retrospect before prospect.

Sargent's Post-War Educational Plan was a good beginning. However, it has been criticised because it was too expensive, because it was unwieldy and slow, and, furthermore, because it neglected some areas, v. g., female education and rural education.[1]

If the government officials of India will provide unstinting leadership, funds for education will be available not only to initiate and carry through a good practical plan but also to constantly improve and adapt the plan to existing circumstances as times change and new needs arise.

The very first move should be to dispel pessimism among political and educational leaders. Parulekar makes an observation very much to the point: "The keynote of progress is a robust optimism. If other nations have achieved their goal, or are marching triumphantly towards its realization, there is no reason why India should not be able to progress."[2]

Indians and Europeans who have worked in the educational field in India have offered many of the suggestions that have been proposed in this chapter. Each point is presented and discussed. There is no attempt at arrangement in order of importance because each and every point is a vital part of the whole. All the points are summarized at the end.

Plan a program to provide adequate physical plants for the schools of India.

Buildings are fundamental in a school program. Mayhew, in his excellent study of Indian education, points out the essential need for a good type of building for the school in India.[3] The Advisory Board Committee Report of 1943 describes the Pisé (hard earth block) type of material and building for schools in India.[4] Principles of good building must be applied to local needs. With some remodeling, many of the school buildings already available can be utilized as part of the building program. School furniture, such as desks and other school equipment, are part of the building planning.

Except for the rainy seasons, the classes can often meet outside under a tree, as is often done in Tagore's School in

Bolpur. A tropical country like India has none of the serious problems raised by the need for artificial heating in the winter.

Provide and encourage the use of good instructional materials.

Textbooks are a serious need in this category. Central committees must be organized to approve books for instruction and encourage the writing of new books in the local vernacular. Some experiments have been tried with regard to utilizing Roman script for Indian languages. The effectiveness is disputed. Recent papers and periodicals carry articles for and against it. It must be noted that printing shops are common enough in India to print in practically all dialects. However, there is a serious need for improving the standard of editing.

Audio-visual aids should have a place in India's schools. As early as 1906, a compiler of a Government Report said that India could learn much from the United States and from Germany in the use of concrete, observational elements in education, especially in the teaching of the physical sciences.[5] The use of materials other than the textbook is necessary in India to counteract the valid criticism of Anderson that Indian education has been out of touch with the lives and needs of the people.[6] Of course, the effective use of instructional equipment is related to the teacher-training program of India.

Develop a physical education program on a modern plan.

The old adage "A sound mind in a sound body" needs serious application in India. Certainly, a physical education program cannot be divorced from public health and nutrition. Surveys show that conditions are serious.[7] Hygienic rules must be taught and exemplified in the schools in spite of public apathy. A good foundation for health improvement in India would be some prenatal guidance for prospective mothers.

The Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education in India pointed out the crying need for medical examination of children in the schools, and also the need of follow-up treatment. At least fifty per cent of the children need medical aid. About twenty-six per cent have some eye trouble. This is not an easy problem to face in a country where there is but one doctor for 10,000 people and but one nurse for 80,000.[8]

The Abbott-Wood Report of 1937 was very emphatic in its demands for physical education in the schools.[9] Twenty years before that report, the Calcutta University Commission said of the Indian student: "He is notoriously careless of his health, but the fault is seldom wholly his own. The opportunities for recreation have generally come to him when he has already become a victim of a course of indolent activity."[10]

Corporate activities have an important role. These include the Junior Red Cross, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Hindustan Scouts, the Bengal Bratachari Movement, and the like. The Advisory Board Committee recommended such activities.[11]

A complete physical education program includes provision for meals in the schools on the lower levels at least, as was attempted on a limited scale in Bengal in 1935.[12] It also involves supervised exercises, and perhaps some intramural athletics. In line with these recommendations, there is a need for more physical training colleges of the type established on a permanent basis in Bengal in 1939 to train physical education teachers.[13]

Set up a compulsory education program to achieve and maintain literacy in India.

Compulsory education is not entirely foreign to India. The efforts of that apostle of compulsory education, Gokhale, in the early years of this century, finally brought results, and, in line with other provinces, Bengal introduced the Rural Compulsory Education Act in 1930. However, it is one thing to pass a compulsory education bill and quite another to implement and enforce it. Nurullah quotes a government report on this point:

> Experience in Bengal, however, and to a lesser extent in other

provinces, shows that local option may result in almost complete inaction on the part of local bodies for a considerable period of time to come. It seems clear that a mere enabling statute will not provide any guarantee for a speedy and widespread application of compulsion.[14]

Through what ages should compulsory education in India be fostered? The Sargent Report[15] and the Inter-Provincial Board on Anglo-Indian Education in India[16] both recommend universal and free compulsory education in India from the sixth to the fourteenth year. Basu recommends that it begin at eight instead of six to cut down the financial load involved, and he points to the Russian plan as an example, since it calls for compulsory education beginning at the age of eight.[17]

The most valid criticism of the compulsory education program that has been followed in India thus far is that it was left to the discretion and the initiative of local bodies, and so became almost a dead letter in 1941.[18] Mayhew points out that there is a very important consideration in a compulsory education program in India, namely, the low percentage of teachers and their weakness in rural areas especially.[19]

Much has been said about literacy in a previous chapter. However, a brief summary is proper here. In All-India, the figure for literacy is 12.2 per cent (19 per cent for males and 5 per cent for females). In the Lower Ganges area (more specifically, in Bengal), it is 16.1 per cent (25.0 per cent for males and 7.0 per cent for females).[20] Comparing the three large presidencies, Limaye notes that Madras has 13 per cent literacy, and Bombay 20 per cent as compared with Bengal's 16.1 per cent listed above.[21] In numbers, therefore, Bengal, with approximately 60 million people, has only 10 million who are literate. Literacy was defined by the Census of 1911 in India as "the ability to write a letter to a friend and to read the answer to it."[22]

Parulekar makes some significant comments on illiteracy in India. He says the India figure is about equal to that of the

Bantus in South Africa, and notes that from 1881 to 1931 the literacy figure rose from 3.5 per cent to 8.0 per cent or about 1 per cent each decade.[23]

Is literacy necessarily connected with the culture of a country? A United States Bulletin on Education in 1939 says:

> Illiteracy statistics form one of the several indices used in the science of demography to measure roughly the degree of a people's culture. They indicate to a considerable extent the effectiveness of its school system, the pride which the race in question takes in its language and literature, and its determination to open to all its citizenry the medium of written communication. They reflect the national attitude towards the education of women, indigenous peoples, the minority groups; the enforcement of compulsory education laws; and the general progress of educational policies. They are of use to the administrator in formulating policies of government. They are in a definite sense an indication of a country's financial and economic status. They are a valuable supplement to the more detailed and more frequently gathered statistics of education published annually or biennially by most countries.[24]

There has been a controversy in India over the demand for literacy. Sitaramayya[25] and Gandhi[26] argue against its emphasis, and, on the other hand, Parulekar champions literacy vigorously.[27] The Abbott-Wood Report insists that concentration on literacy as the main purpose of education is a mistake.[28]

The reason why the words "achieve and maintain" were used in the heading of this discussion of compulsory education and literacy is that there has been a startling percentage of lapse into illiteracy on the part of literates in India. This phenomenon has been noted in an earlier chapter. Parulekar describes the reason for the lapse, quoting two government reports for authority:

> The explanation of such relapse is simple. Retention of ini-

> tial literacy acquired at an early age of ten or eleven depends largely on environment, and the environment of the great majority of the Indian pupils who leave school at the primary stage is not conducive to such retention. The parents in the village home are usually illiterate, they are too poor to buy books, and attractive vernacular literature and periodicals suitable to children are not available, though there are vernacular books which might be read by children under religious impulse.
>
> With men of the agricultural classes—and especially in communities for whom learning is an irksome novelty—the results of schooling are soon apt to be affected in the more urgent work of earning their livelihood from the soil. The hard labor which tilling entails is a drain upon their mental energy; the routine of their daily tasks and the dull greyness of their unremitting toil do little to remind them of their childhood's reading.[29]

To maintain literacy in India, the lapse problem must be studied and remedied. It is quite evident that the task will not be a simple one, and it will take planning and time and effort.

Reorganize the curriculum, using the local vernacular on the lower levels of instruction, and adding English as a second compulsory language in the upper middle (senior high) schools.

There is a serious need for curriculum revision in India because, as has been noted earlier, so much of education in India is not related to real life. As part of the program of revision, graduate students will have to study systems abroad and assume the responsibility for adaptation of curricula to India's local needs.

A Curriculum Revision Committee in Bombay made a start in 1936. The results of introducing revised courses into selected schools were reported as satisfactory. A government report of that date says:

> The main feature of the new curriculum is that the treatment

of each individual subject is made as practical as possible and teachers are given a wide discretion to select those aspects of a subject which are most likely to appeal to the children's interest and to suit the local environment. There are, however, still criticisms that in the majority of the schools the methods of teaching were still mechanical, and far too much emphasis was laid on books, very little attempt being made to develop the child's powers of observation and reasoning or to bring his work into relation with his everyday experience.[30]

The medium of instruction has caused a great deal of discussion and argument among educators in India. It all dates back to the early nineteenth century and the attempted solution by Lord Macaulay and his Minute of 1835. The Abbott-Wood Report has a pertinent comment on the problem:

> Our experience of the high schools . . . persuades us that this use of English as the medium of instruction lies at the root of the ineffectiveness of many of them. As a whole, the boys in the high schools are responsive and educable but they are hampered at every turn by having to handle an instrument which comes between them and spontaneity. Among other disadvantages, the use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction for school boys both fetters the discretion of those who prescribe syllabuses and set and correct examination papers and forces undue reliance on textbooks by teachers and pupils alike, even to the point of encouraging the latter to memorize whole passages from them.
>
> We would therefore urge that so far as possible the vernacular should be the medium of instruction throughout the higher secondary schools, leaving English to take its extremely important place as a compulsory first language. We know that this will present many difficulties and that no wholesale and immediate departure from present practice is possible. The number of vernaculars presents one difficulty and the comparative absence of textbooks and reference books in them is another. But these and other obstacles to a change would not be insuperable if once the principle were genuinely accepted—par-

ticularly as there appears to be general agreement that the technical terms in use in English scientific textbooks could be retained.[31]

Vernacular languages in India are many but, in general, Hindi and its variant Urdu can be employed in Central and Northern India. Bengali is understood by practically all the Indians in Bengal. In South India, one or the other of the Dravidian group of languages will have to be utilized, each in its proper area.

On the use of the vernacular as a medium, there is an encouraging comment in the government report of 1937-1938 in Bengal:

> In Bengal, the revised matriculation examination regulations in which the vernacular has been adopted as the medium of instruction in all subject fields except English will come into effect in 1940. This also applies to Assam which depends on the Calcutta University. It is reported moreover that the changes in the medium of instruction have brought about a change in the atmosphere of the class. The interest in a lesson is at once noticeable, answers to a question are more assured, and interrogations by the boys are intelligent.[32]

In a reaction to the enforced use of English as a medium in her schools during the long occupancy of the British, India must realize that it would be impractical to discard English entirely. The latter is the key to a knowledge of Western culture and is, therefore, necessary for advanced studies. It was worthy of note that in All-India Congress Meetings in recent years it was found that English was the common language of the greatest majority of the delegates present. English is a part of Indian culture, and that factor might as well be recognized.

As a closing comment on this section, it should be noted that other foreign languages should not be neglected in the higher schools of learning in India. Language is a key to other cultures, and even though a large proportion of the advanced students will not go abroad to study, for the sake of rounded culture they should be familiar with languages other than their own.

Set up an evaluation and testing program.

There is little doubt that there is a need for evaluating levels of instruction in India. A government report of 1939 says: "It is difficult to resist the conclusion that there is no effective standardization either of examinations or examiners, who are allowed to mark more papers than they can deal with efficiently."[33]

The same report quotes the Hartog Committee of 1929 to the effect that "there are unmistakable indications that the standards in some of the universities are not satisfactory . . . universities are not giving adequate attention to the proper adjustment of admission to graduation standards. . . ."[34]

The problem of standards must be adjusted long before the students reach the university level. Perhaps measurement of mental abilities and achievement will never be perfect, but there is vast scope for improvement in India. Promising graduate students will have to be sent abroad to study examining systems in foreign countries. It will be their responsibility to determine what can be applied to India. They will have the further responsibility of guarding against abuses in the use of a testing program which can become the means of tyrannical control over the lives of people. Personality and personal rights can be lost sight of when there is a craze for efficiency.

According to recent newspapers in India, a most significant move in respect to a testing and evaluation program is the recent appointment of a committee to formulate a scheme to establish a Central Institute of Psychology in New Delhi. The proposed institute will prepare intelligence tests to select elementary school children for secondary education, and entrants to teachers' training institutions and higher technical institutions as part of its program. The committee is under the chairmanship of Dr. Tara Chand, who is an educational adviser to the Government of India.

Promote female education vigorously on all levels.

The gross deficiency of female education in India is closely related to the social structure of that Oriental country. Child marriage and superstitious taboos on female education have continued as major factors. Some progress has been made. Today, in many of the advertisements of Indian newspapers, the readers note that the Indian gentleman often specifies literacy as desirable besides youth and beauty and a particular religion or caste in a prospective bride. The Sarda Act of 1929 forbade marriages of girls before the age of 14. As a result of the Act, there was a decided upsurge in the percentage of the female population attending school.

Even with a tremendous increase in the number of women attending schools a mere beginning has been made. The words of Lord Lytton, the governor of Bengal, in a speech made in 1929, still hold today. He said, "Education for women in India cannot be exaggerated."[35]

Mayhew quotes an Indian leader as saying that the real education of a single Indian girl means more for the uplift of a whole family than that of a single man.[36]

The Sargent Plan, as was noted before, neglects female education in specific plans.[37] Perhaps it takes for granted that what is outlined for boys is applicable to the education of girls too. Gandhi has been criticized for proposing the curtailment of women's education in his Wardha Educational Scheme.[38] Basu points that in 1936 only 1.4 crores, of the total of 8.4 crores of rupees spent on primary education, went for girls.[39] A Government Report of 1941 stated that part of the problem of female education could be solved by a co-educational program.[40]

As early as 1917, the Calcutta University Commission advocated a Board of Women's Education to be primarily concerned with advancing women's interests in higher education, but with responsibility for the general problem of female education as well.[41]

In 1921, the Bombay Legislative Council made a move to give women voting rights, but a government report of that date made this pertinent observation: "It is impossible that a body which has sanctioned such an advanced measure should be content with an attendance at school of only 2 per cent of the female population."[42]

According to a recent survey, 2.7 per cent of the female population are in school while 8.8 per cent of the total male population are in school.[43]

Coordinate professional and vocational education with India's needs.

Professional education in India has been awry for a long time. The universities have given thousands an impractical training and have dispensed degrees that are of little or no use to the individual. The Sargent Report points out the fact that the universities have not related their activities to the community needs. Even for minor posts in government services before the war, there were 60 to 70 applicants for each job available. The report points out, for example, that, of the professional subjects, law attracts many more than can expect to make a decent living by its practice. About 30 per cent of the university graduates get employment in keeping with their attainments and the time and money spent on their education.[44] There is serious need for some careful surveys of conditions in the various professions in India and a guidance program in the universities and colleges to utilize the findings of these surveys.

Concerning vocational education, the Abbott-Wood Report of 1937 furnished much information. It listed a series of observations and recommendations on India. Perhaps the most important of these was that the populace was to be taught that vocational education is not to be looked down upon, that provincial surveys of vocational needs should be made, and the literature describing careers that are open, and the requisite training, should be edited and published.[45]

Since India is more than ninety per cent agricultural, the successful example of a practical agricultural school like that of Moga in the Punjab should be expanded and duplicated throughout the sub-continent.[46]

Organize an effective special education program.

Special education includes the education of handicapped people and adult education. The government reports refer to the former group as "defectives." The province of Bengal, perhaps, has been the most progressive in caring for handicapped, v.g., the blind and the deaf, but its facilities are far from adequate. India is far behind most countries in this type of education. Though they are not necessarily in this class, mention should be made of the serious need for care and education of illegitimate children in India. The missionaries have done some good work in this field, but existing programs and facilities are definitely not adequate.

Adult education is related to the education of children and the success of the compulsory education program outlined above. Ordinarily, parents will not encourage the education of their children if they have no appreciation of the value of education themselves. The problem of adult education has been the concern of responsible educators in India for many years. In 1920, an important conference was held in London to discuss and to outline a program for adult education in India. It was attended by a large number of British and Indian educators.[47] Some schemes were initiated as a result, but, judging from the present rate of illiteracy, there is a serious need for extensive expansion of adult education programs.

As has been described earlier, Dr. Laubach has made a very constructive start in India in adult education.[48]

The biggest task is to avoid relapse into illiteracy among adults who have achieved some degree of literacy. Parulekar[49] and Mahmud[50] have pointed out the success of Russia in wiping out illiteracy in twenty years. Both speculated on the use of movies and radio in an adult education program.

Should adult education be made compulsory? Kini makes a good case for it in his report on a survey in Mysore State.[51]

Perhaps one of the most cogent suggestions made by any adult education committee in India was that "after a certain date, thumb impressions instead of signatures on legal documents should be made invalid."[52]

Devise an effective teacher-training and recruiting program.

The teaching profession has been described by an Indian report as "the most responsible, the least advertised, the worst paid and the most richly rewarded profession in the world."[53] The profession is sadly in need of attention. The Sargent Report of 1945 was commendable for the bold provision it made for wholesale reorganization of the teaching profession in India. It insisted that teachers' status, conditions of work and salaries had to be raised.[54]

The teachers who are at work in the schools in India today are in serious need of training. The Abbott-Wood Report pointed out that there was a need for both a good normal school training for teachers, and refresher courses at regular intervals for those who were on the job.[55] The Government Report of 1938 was very much concerned with the immediate need to train elementary teachers because they had such vital responsibilities in handling children on that level, assuming parents' duties in many cases, and, of course, forming the minds of the youngsters for the future.[56]

In regard to recruiting prospective teachers, the Abbott-Wood Report pointed out a grave defect of organization which hampered the normal schools. The lowest age of admission to the normal school was a year or two in advance of the age at which an intelligent student would complete the middle school course. Thus, there was a gap during which students, having no defined course to follow, were lost to the profession or wasted their time until they were old enough to enter the normal school.[57] No doubt the evil has been remedied in some places, but there is certainly a need for advertising the teaching profession and aiding prospective teachers in every way possible when there is such a dire need for their services in India.

Professor Shah of Bombay proposed a plan recently whereby men and women of learning would be conscripted to teach for a five-year period.[58] Mahatma Gandhi favored the plan, and insisted that it should be examined and applied to teaching on the primary levels especially.[59] A serious problem with regard to this conscription proposal is that most of the degree-holding men and women in India are highly specialized. However, even though some of these "conscripted teachers" are highly specialized, they can be given necessary training and guidance before the precious youngsters are intrusted to them.

Utilize women teachers for lower levels of instruction especially.

This proposal is a vital part of the preceding one on the recruitment of teachers. In the United States, educational journals[60] have become concerned with the constant use of the pronoun "she" when referring to teachers. More men are needed in the profession in America. By contrast, practically all the teachers are men in India. This is the case even in the lower levels. Parulekar quotes a government report on this point:

> One of the chief defects of the elementary teacher in India is his sex. Universal experience has shown that the best teacher for young children is a woman. It is rare that a man shows any real aptitude for teaching an infants' class. No amount of normal school training will make up for this natural deficiency.[61]

The Abbott-Wood Report says: "We are of the opinion that until a system of infant classes staffed by trained women is established in India, education will remain unsound at its very foundations."[62]

The same report recognizes the difficulties of getting women teachers to work in rural areas. It is extremely difficult for women of status to travel alone in parts of India, much less live apart from their families.

On this point, another government report says:

> The obstacles to the recruitment of teachers for girls' schools, especially those in rural areas, cannot, however, be overlooked. They must be common to all provinces. . . . There is no more urgent educational need in India today than a rapid increase in the number of qualified women teachers. The difficulties in the way are many and well known. The first step to overcome them in the case of women as well as of men is to make the conditions of service as attractive as possible. The second is to remove those deterrent factors which not unnaturally make many parents unwilling to allow their daughters to serve as teachers, especially in rural areas. The employment of married women may afford a partial solution but the experiment of employing wives in the same schools as their husbands has not proved an unqualified success. It is interesting to note that in some provinces inducements are being offered to widows to train as teachers and that . . . it is proposed to provide living quarters in connection with village schools so that women teachers may be able to live together under adequate protection.[63]

Reorganize and expand the function of the Inter-University Board and organize associations of colleges on an area or a provincial basis.

The Inter-University Conference, with delegates from fifteen universities, met in Simla for the first time in 1924. The Inter-University Board that this conference set up has met annually and has served as an authorized channel of communication among the universities of India.[64] Its functions should be expanded and encouraged as much as possible by the government and educational leaders. There is also a need for associations of colleges in the various areas. Mutual help and encouragement among these institutions is preferable by far to working in isolation.

In line with these recommendations, there is a need for other associations concerned with special areas, after the pattern of the United States. Of course, modifications are necessary to fit local needs. Child welfare organizations and special education groups would not be the least of these.

Set up a coordinated program to enable advanced students to study abroad and foreign students to come to India.

A program to permit Indian students to study abroad has been in effect for many years. However, it has been on a very limited scale, and far too many of the students have gone to England. The fact that almost all of the political leaders of today have been trained in England attests to this condition. The program should include sending a good proportion of the students to countries in Europe and to both of the Americas, including the United States and Canada, of course. Then too, other Oriental countries such as Russia, China, Japan, and the Philippines should not be neglected.

Students for foreign study should be carefully screened, and they should be put on contract to serve the government upon their return. A careful check must be kept on the types of students who appear to profit most by foreign study and those who do not.

Indian students in this country say that there seems to be a retrenchment program on foreign study which operates to such effect that contracts will not be offered to all upon their return to India. This is deplorable, considering the fact that India has such a large credit balance in England. The Fulbright Act, which stipulates that American military assets in foreign areas be utilized to promote education, fortunately will apply to

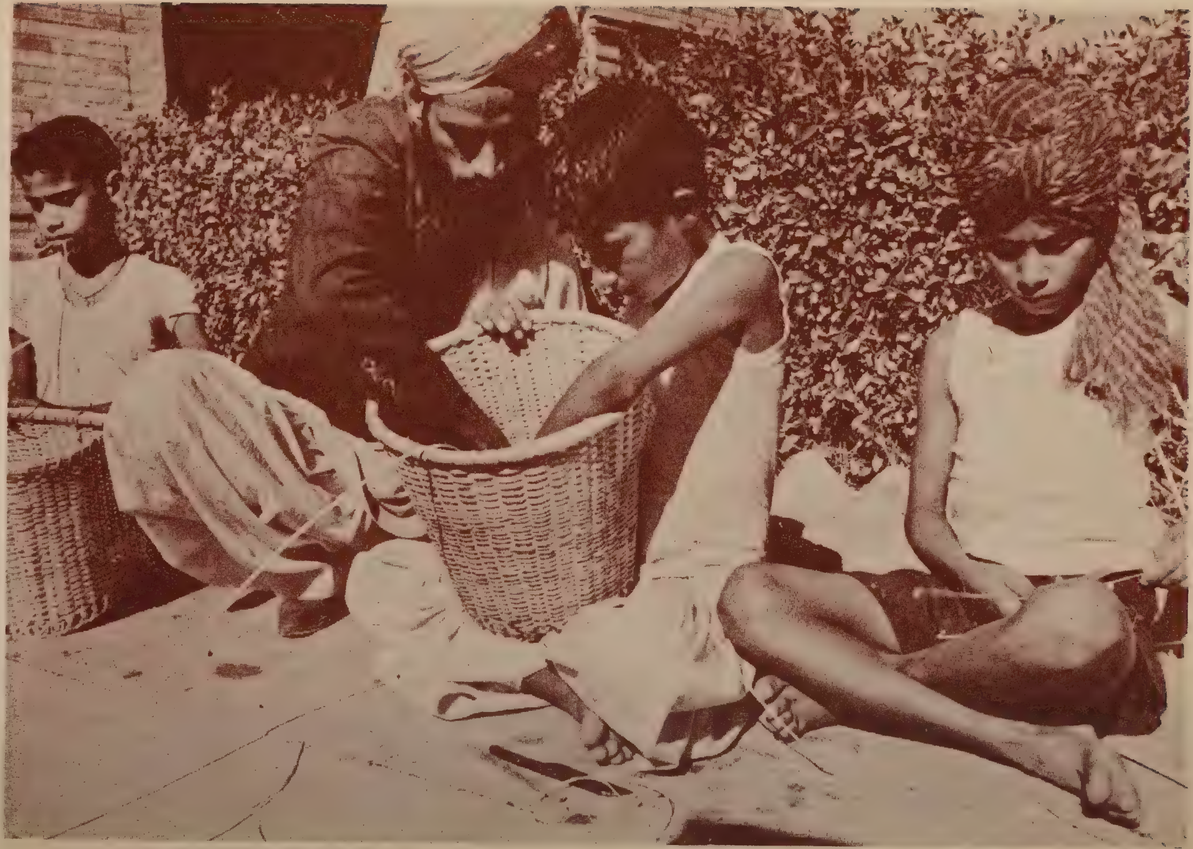
A student of architecture at Santiniketan Education Institution, Bengal. Santiniketan, "the Home of Peace," is the realization of a poet's dream. Here Rabindranath Tagore founded a school and university to put his educational ideas into practice.

An Indian village boy practices his writing.

Pupils in Victoria Institution, one of the oldest girls' schools in Bengal.

A class to teach adult villagers to read and write.

Many Indian schools have adopted the modern approach to education, making lessons more interesting for youngsters.



"Playway" method in a Punjab village school. Practical handicrafts such as wickerwork are taught in an up-to-date village school.

Rural education in the Moradabad district: an adult night school.

A typical village school where handicrafts are taught in addition to the "Three R's."

India and Pakistan in 1951. American scholars will be encouraged to study in the latter countries and also to teach. The presence of foreign scholars in India and Pakistan will make those countries realize that they have something to offer the scholarly world. Too many Indians have been indoctrinated with the idea that their culture is far inferior to that of the West.

In line with the program of an exchange of culture, there should be liberal scholarships for Indian students. Not only should the government provide these but wealthy individuals should be urged to provide scholarships too. They have a patriotic duty to help India in this way. Exchange professorships with other countries should be encouraged.

Plan to preserve India's culture as a vital part of the school program.

India has a valuable culture that must be preserved, and it is mainly through education that this can be done. Sitaramayya says bitterly, and with some justification: "We have been taught to believe that there are no paintings in this country, that art did not exist and that light must emanate from the West and not from the East. The passion for the reproduction of things in a realistic style eclipses that other passion for spiritual art."[65]

The Abbott-Wood Report makes some significant comments:

> It will not be sufficient merely to provide time, space and equipment for Art in . . . schools. Plans must be made to secure what at present is so patently lacking, namely a supply of teachers whose artistic training and powers of execution qualify them to instruct and criticize as well as to encourage. The importance of this can scarcely be overrated. *India, with all its history of artistic achievement, is not doing what it might, through its schools,* either to foster among the people generally a concern for aesthetic values or to discover the individual talent which, if properly nurtured, would enrich the country's indigenous art.[66] (Italics are the author's.)

Formulate a philosophy of education for India and a plan designed to instill a sense of social responsibility through the schools.

Basu quotes a British professor on the point: ". . . we have to find some standpoint outside the educational system and from that determine as best as we may the direction that is being taken . . . then we may frame some conception of what we really want and may hope to get in the matter of re-ordered society. With some clear ideas about that we can then understand better not only the lines along which the educational system is to be reconstructed but also, and this is much more important, the purposes and values by which it is to be inspired."[67]

As far as religion in the schools is concerned, India, if she follows the policy of the British government as formulated in the early nineteenth century for her, will continue with a neutral plan. Perhaps a release period for religious instruction of Hindus, Moslems, and Christians can be arranged.

In his keynote address to the Central Advisory Board in New Delhi in January, 1948, the chairman, Maulana Azad, warned against developing an intellectual mold in India that would be without the religious spirit.[68] With the present weaknesses of the governmental school systems, it would be suicide to suppress the private schools maintained by missionary and private groups in India. These should be fostered by a continuation of the grant-in-aid system as long as these private schools accept, as they have in the past, the periodic inspection by state officials, so that standards are upheld.

The whole curriculum of the schools maintained by governmental and private groups should be planned with a view to instilling the principles of social responsibility and good moral conduct. This is the contribution that education must make to good government.

EDUCATIONAL CHARTER

In summary, therefore, it has been proposed that future education in India be based on the following points:

(1) Plan a program to provide adequate physical plants for the schools of India.
(2) Provide and encourage the use of good instructional materials.
(3) Develop a physical education program on a modern plan.
(4) Set up a compulsory education program to achieve and maintain literacy in India.
(5) Reorganize the curriculum, using the local vernacular on the lower levels of instruction and adding English as a second compulsory language in the upper middle (senior high) schools.
(6) Set up an evaluation and testing program.
(7) Promote female education vigorously on all levels.
(8) Coordinate professional and vocational education with India's needs.
(9) Organize an effective special education program.
(10) Devise an effective teacher-training and recruiting program.
(11) Utilize women teachers for lower levels of instruction especially.
(12) Reorganize and expand the function of the Inter-University Board, and organize associations of colleges on an area or a provincial basis.
(13) Set up a coordinated program to enable advanced students to study abroad and foreign students to come to India.
(14) Plan to preserve India's culture as a vital part of the school program.
(15) Formulate a philosophy of education for India and a plan designed to instill a sense of social responsibility through the schools.

This study has investigated the historical development of education as a social instrument in the growth of India's contemporary culture pattern. The dangers of extreme specialization have been illustrated time and again. It seems clear that education in India must be used as an instrument to provide a common base of human experience for her vast range of peoples. The conflicts between Hindu, Moslem, and other communal groups, besides those which resulted from the British and European intrusion on the indigenous pattern during the last two hundred years may well be resolved. There is a serious need for a creative educational pattern that will provide a real basis for unity. In the United States, education has been used as a social instrument for understanding and cooperation. For India, troubled by challenging problems arising from the lack of a common basis of experience, a balanced educational program, well implemented, may fulfill the cherished hope for harmony and well-being and peace.

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Howard Mumford Jones, *Education and World Tragedy* (Cambridge, Harvard Press, 1946), The Rushton Lectures, p. 77.
2. Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India* (Aligarh, India, Aligarh College Press, 1895).
3. Herbert A. Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813 to 1912* (Calcutta, Calcutta Publishing Company, 1916).
4. S. Paul Chinnappa, *The British System of Education in India* (New York, Columbia University, Doctoral Thesis, 1915).
5. Sudhindra Bose, *Some Aspects of British Rule in India* (Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Doctoral Thesis, 1915).
6. Thakorlal Ranchhodlal Pandya, *Education in Baroda* (Bombay, Nowrojee Printer, 1915); in Columbia University, doctor's thesis, 1912.
7. Lois Lenore Andrews, *A History of Education in the Bombay Presidency, India, under the British Administration* (University of Chicago, master's thesis, 1925).
8. Rena Grace Lewison, *Village Education in Assam* (University of Chicago, master's thesis, 1927).
9. S. Satthianadhan, *History of Education in the Madras Presidency* (Madras, Srinivasass Varadachari, 1891).
10. Lalit K. Shah, *Education and National Consciousness*

(University of Chicago, doctor's thesis, 1928).

11. Ellen Elizabeth Vickland, *The Nationalization of Education in India* (University of Chicago, master's thesis, 1933).
12. S. Nurullah, and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India During the British Period* (New York, Macmillan, 1943).
13. H. V. Hampton, *Biographical Studies in Modern Education* (London, Oxford Press, 1947), p. 244. cf. note on Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India.*
14. Howard Mumford Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
15. Arthur Henry Moehlman, "Toward a New History of Education," *School and Society* (January 26, 1946), Vol. 63, p. 4.

CHAPTER ONE

1. H. V. Hampton, *Biographical Studies in Modern Education* (London, Oxford Press, 1947), Preface.
2. The East India Company was formally dissolved in 1878, but with the proclamation of the Empire in 1858 it ceased to function.
3. Cf. Hampton's well-documented study.
4. A standard geographical study for India is Sir Dudley L. Stamp, *Asia* (New York, Dutton, 1938). Also cf. Aubrey A. J. Zellner, *Backgrounds for a Study of Education in the Lower Ganges River Valley of India* (State University of Iowa, master's thesis, 1947).
5. In reference to the "Black Hole Tragedy" of Calcutta, Smith says that in 1756 the Nawab (native ruler) captured a company of unsuspecting British civilians and put 146 of them into a stifling guardroom, barely twenty feet square, for the night. Next morning, only 23 came out alive. One lady was among the survivors. Cf. Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford Press, London, 1920), p. 489.
6. It is said that the name of the city Calcutta comes from

the body-burning ghats near the Ganges river bank. These ghats are near the ancient temple of Kali and so the natives came to combine the "gutta" (ghats) with "Kali," and in time the word "Kaligutta" became the modern "Calcutta."

7. Webster's *Geographical Dictionary* (Springfield, Merriam, 1949), p. 121.
8. The monsoon, properly speaking, is the rainy season brought on by the southwest winds over India.
9. Stamp, *op. cit.*, p. 292.
10. G. B. Cressey, *Asia's Land and Peoples* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1944), p. 424.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 429ff.
13. General Motors Overseas Operations, *Economic Survey of India* (New York, General Motors, 1945).
14. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
15. *Report of the Calcutta University Commission* (Calcutta, Government Printing, 1919), Vol. I, Part I, Chapter 5.
16. *Webster's Geographical Dictionary*, p. 121ff.
17. E. J. Rapson, editor, *The Cambridge History of India* (New York, Macmillan, 1922), Vol. I, p. 37.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 593.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
20. Sir Wm. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal* (London, Smith and Elder, 1897), p. 144ff.
21. Gustav Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India* (Westminister, Archibald Constable, 1903).
22. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
23. *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, p. 147.
24. Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India* (Aligarh, India, Aligarh College, 1895), p. 27.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 4, quoting Charles Grant, *Observations on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain Particularly with Respect to Morals: and on the Means of Improving Them.* (1797).

26. *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, p. 106.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
28. Syed Nurullah, and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India* (London, Macmillan, 1943), p. 569.
29. Percy Harold Dumbell, editor, *Loyal India, A Survey of Seventy Years (1858-1928), Selected Documents from British State Papers* (London, Constable, 1930).
30. *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, p. 115.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

CHAPTER TWO

1. H. V. Hampton, *Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education* (London, Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 143.
2. Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India* (Aligarh, Aligarh College Press, 1895), p. 80.
3. J. Sharp, "Selections from Educational Records," Part I, 1781-1830, *Bureau of Education, India* (Calcutta, Government Printing, 1920), p. 2.
4. Lalit K. Shah, *Education and National Consciousness* (University of Chicago, doctor's thesis, 1928), p. 39.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 40. Also cf. "Analysis of Present Conditions," *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-1919 Report* (Calcutta, Government Printing), Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, p. 32.
6. Vincent A. Smith, *Oxford History of India* (London, Oxford Press 1920), pp. 492, 497.
7. Ellen Elizabeth Vickland, *The Nationalization of Education in India* (University of Chicago, master's thesis, 1933), p. 30.
8. The seat of the Indian Government was moved to New Delhi in 1912.
9. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 556.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 561ff.
12. Syed Nurullah, and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India* (Calcutta, Macmillan, 1943), p. 381. Also cf. Anattinath Basu, *Education in Modern India* (Calcutta, Orient Book Company, 1945), p. 39.
13. Herbert Alick Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813 to 1912* (Calcutta, Calcutta General Publishing Company, 1916), pp. 80-81.
14. Sudhindra Bose, *Some Aspects of British Rule in India* (State University of Iowa, doctoral thesis, 1916), p. 74.
15. T. N. Siqueira, *The Education of India* (London, Oxford Press, 1943), p. 20.
16. Sharp, *op cit.*, p. 7.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
19. *Ibid.*, *p.* 17.
20. Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
22. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
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26. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
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28. Philip Hartog, "Some Aspects of Indian Education Past and Present," *Studies and Reports No. VII, University of London Institute of Education* (London, Oxford Press, 1939), p. 10.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 7. Also cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
30. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
31. Hampton, *op. cit.*, pp. 28ff.
32. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
33. Hampton, *op. cit.*, p. 33. Also cf. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
34. Sharp. *op. cit.*, p. 69.

35. *William Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar* (Calcutta, Home Secretariat Press, 1868).
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37. *William Adam's Reports,* p. 261.
38. "Memorandum Submitted by the Government of Bengal to the Indian Statutory Commission," *Indian Statutory Commission, Volume VIII* (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930), p. 18.
39. *William Adam's Reports,* pp. 261ff.
40. *Ibid.,* p. 217.
41. Hartog, *op. cit.,* pp. 75ff.
42. *Ibid.,* p. 75.
43. J. A. Richey, "Selections from Educational Records, Part II, 1840-1859," *Bureau of Education, India* (Calcutta, Government Printing, 1922), p. 5.
44. Hampton, *op. cit.,* p. 200. Also cf. Indian Statutory Commission, *op. cit.,* p. 18.
45. Richey, *op. cit.,* p. 65.
46. Stark, *op. cit.,* p. 11.
47. *Ibid.,* p. 11. Also cf. Adam, *op. cit.,* p. 9.
48. *Ibid.,* pp. 13, 19. Also cf. Sharp, *op. cit.,* p. 192.
49. *Ibid.,* pp. 16, 20.
50. S. Satthianadhan, *History of Education in Madras Presidency* (Madras, Srinivasa Varadachari, 1891), p. 1. Also cf. Hampton, *op. cit.,* pp. 126-186.
51. Thomas, *op. cit.,* p. 28. Also cf. Hampton, *op. cit.,* p. 85.
52. Umer M. Daupota, *A Survey of Mass Education in India* (Bombay, Sharafuddin, 1937), p. 27. Also cf. Sir P. J. Hartog, "The Indian Universities," *Annals of Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Part II, Vol. CXLV* (Philadelphia, Sept. 1929), pp. 138-151.
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54. Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India* (London, Faber Gwyer, 1928), p. 13.
55. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
56. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
57. Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Also cf. Satthianadhan, *op. cit.*, Appendix A.
58. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
60. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Also cf. Lois Lenore Andrews, *A History of Education in the Bombay Presidency, India, under the British Administration* (University of Chicago, master's thesis, 1925), p. 22.
61. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
62. Satthianadhan, *op. cit.*, Appendix A.
63. Hartog, "Some Aspects of Indian Education," *op. cit.*, p. 13.
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67. Mayhew, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.
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32. Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 74. The present writer saw the ravages of rioters in Bihar, bordering Bengal.
33. Goshal, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
34. Parkin, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 260. The writer witnessed much of the famine suffering in Calcutta at this time.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
37. The writer was in Bombay at the time and witnessed some of the guarded meetings from a short distance.
38. Parkin, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
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INDEX

Abbott-Wood Report, 219, 221, 223, 225
Adam, Reverend William, educational influence, 52ff.
Adult education, 173, 220
Agricultural education, 98f, 165, 167
Ambedkar, education for Untouchables, 181
Anglicists vs. Orientalists, 58ff.
Anglo-Vernacular schools, 82
Anti-terrorist propaganda, 170
Aryan, meaning of term, 35-37
Attlee, Prime Minister, independence for India, 192
Auckland, Earl of, educational influence, 62
Audio-visual aids, 210

Baroda, progressive state, 127
Bengal, East Bengal, 118, 198; geography, 28-34; the inhabitants, 39-42; Moslem population, 149, 178; The Pakistan issue, 182; partition of, 114; West Bengal, 198
Bengali language, 216
Bengal Rural Primary Education Act of 1930, 153
Bentinck, Lord, the Macaulay Minute, 58-67
Biss, Evan E., scheme for primary education, 153, 170, 180
Bombay, early education, 62
Books, *see* Textbooks
Bose, Subhas Chandra, Indian leader, 179, 187
"Boys' Own Home," experimental school, 111
Boys, wastage in education, 175
  See also Wastage
Britain, *see* Great Britain
Buddhism, 37f
Buildings, fundamental in school program, 209
Burma, annexation of, 96; separation from India, 174

Calcutta, principal city of Bengal, 33
Calcutta, University of, 110, 111, 138; arbitration board, 165; Commission Report, 140, 152, 155; origin of, 73, 74; reorganization of, 162; World War II, 197
Canning, Lord, first viceroy, 69
Catholic institutions, 138
Chiang Kai-shek, statement on India, 185
Chief-*Guru* System of education, 80
Children, child marriage, 218; medical examination of, 210
Chittagong, important city of Bengal, 33
Churchill, Winston, stand on India, 184, 188
"Circle System" of schools, 55, 64, 80, 118
Civil disobedience, 183
Cripps, Sir Stafford, Indian mission, 186ff.
Coal and iron, 32
Co-education, 168
Colleges, 110, 117; arts college for men, 181; Commission of 1882 recommendations, 89, 90; recommendations, 223; during World War II,

197; *See also* Universities
Communism, fear of, 194
Congress Party, 95, 115, 178; civil disobedience campaign, 182, 183; Gandhi, 165f; World War I, 146; World War II, 179
Culture, preservation of, a vital part of school program, 225
Curriculum, reorganization of, 214
Curzon, Lord, educational contribution, 103ff., 112

Dacca, important city of Bengal, 33
Dacca University, 141, 197
Dalhousie, Lord, Viceroy, 65f, 103
Despatches of 1854 and 1859, 67, 68, 69-71, 73, 74-76, 86, 87
Diet of populace, 31
Downward filtration theory of education, 61, 75f, 77
Dravidian, meaning of term, 35-37
Dufferin, Lord, interest in education, 95, 97
Durbar of 1912, 120f
Dyarchy Reform Act, 151ff.

East Bengal, *see* Bengal
East India Company, abolition of, 68; education under, 43ff., 67
Education, before 1800, 43-49; from 1800 to 1835, 49-57; the Macaulay Minute, 58-67; from 1858 to 1882, 68-85; from 1882 to reforms of Curzon, 86-102; from 1899 to the Durbar of 1912, 103-21; from 1912 to Dyarchy of 1921, 122-48; to World War II, 149-76; World War II and after, 177-99; a retrospect, 200-7; charter for the future, 208-28
  Anglicists vs. Orientalists, 58ff
  buildings are fundamental, 209
  compulsory program, 211-14
  England's influence, 72-73
  experimental schools, 111f.
  First Indian Congress, 95
  mixed schools, 93
  nationalistic movement, 115
  philosophy of education needed, 226
  political influences, 114, 177ff.
  See also Female education
Education Commission of Enquiry of 1882, 85ff
Elementary education, *see* Primary education
Elliot, Sir Charles, the Vernacular Scheme, 101
England, *see* Great Britain
English language instruction, 64, 81f, 214ff; the Macaulay Minute, 58-67
Evaluation and testing program, 217
Experimental schools, 111f

Famine in Bengal, 189f
Female education, 55, 65, 78, 118, 163, 168, 176, 181, 218f; Commission of 1882 recommendations, 93; wastage in education, 175
Filtration theory of education, 61, 75f, 77
Foreign language instruction, 216
Foreign study, students for, 224
Froebelian element in education, 105

Gandhi, Mahatma, civil disobedience, 183; Congress Party leadership, 165f; Cripps proposals, 186; discussions with Jinnah, 191; "Non-cooperation Movement," 146; Wardha (Basic Education) Scheme, 174f
Geography of Bengal, 28-34
George V, King of England, visit to India, 120
Girls, *see* Female education
Gokhale, influences educational policy, 127
Government of India Act of 1935, 178
Grant-in-aid system, weakness of, 76
Great Britain, Indian education, 43ff, 68ff; Indian policy during World War II, 178; 19th-century secondary education, 133
Gurus, training of, 93, 94

Halifax, Lord, *see* Wood's Despatch
Handicapped, education of the, 139, 220
Hardinge, Lord, educational policy, 64, 128
Hartog Committee Report, 160ff.
Health, health education, 30; improvement needed, 210
Higher education, 164; Britain and Bengal compared, 124; *see also* Colleges; Universities
High schools, *see* Secondary education
Hindi language, 216
Hindus, 193; education of, 57, 93, 100f; Hindu religion, 38f
Hulkabundi System, 55, 64, 80, 118
Hunter Commission of 1882, 85ff

Illegitimate children, need for care and education of, 220
Illiteracy, *see* Literacy
India, Burma's separation from, 174; *see also* Bengal
Indian Universities Act of 1904, 109-11
Indigenous schools, Commission of 1882 recommendations, 89, 90
Inspection of schools, 126
Inter-University Board, establishment of, 155; function of, 223
Iron and coal, 32
Indian Congress, First, founding of, 95, 115; *see also* Congress Party

Japan, system of education, 113
Jinnah, Mahomed Ali, guiding force in Moslem League, 177ff, 189, 191
Jute, important product, 32

Landsdowne, Lord, educational scene in India, 98
Laubach, Dr., interest in adult education, 173
Liaquat Ali Khan, Jinnah's successor, 199
Lindsay Commission of 1929, 163
Linlithgow, Viceroy, famine in Bengal, 189
Literacy, 76, 119, 135; adult education movement, 173;

campaign to liquidate illiteracy, 178; compulsory program, 211-14; lapse into illiteracy, 136, 161, 221
Local School Boards, Commission of 1882 recommendations, 92
London University, Indian universities follow pattern of, 73
Lower Ganges River Valley Area, *see* Bengal

Macaulay, Lord, Minute on Education, 58-67
Mahasabha, "India for Hindus," 115
Mass education, 170
Medicine, lack of medical facilities, 211; medical instruction, 62
Minto, Earl of, Viceroy, 104, 115ff
Missionaries, educational role, 48ff, 86ff, 164, 174, 197
Moga agricultural school, 220
Monitor system, 117
Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 147
Mookerjee, Sir Ashutosh, outstanding educational personality, 156
Morley, Lord, reforms, 115ff
Moslem League, 115, 146, 177ff, 182, 189, 193
Moslems, education of, 57, 80, 93, 100f, 140, 181; religion, 38f
Mountbatten, Lord Louis, popularity, 193f
Mutiny of 1857, 66f, 68, 74

Nationalism, Indian, 63, 95, 113
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 185, 186
Nepali language, 170
Non-cooperation Movement, 146

Orientalists vs. Anglicists, 58ff

Pakistan, 182, 194, 199
Panchayat Union schools, 116, 125
Partition of Bengal, 114
Peasant Girls' Schools, 118
People, the, characteristics, 34-42
Persian language, abandonment of, 57
Physical education, 136, 165, 167, 210
Physical plants, need for adequate, 209
Political influences in education, 177ff
Population, uniformity of, 34
Primary education, 89, 91f, 144, 152, 162, 167, 172, 180
Professional education, recommendations, 219
Purdah, seclusion of women, 163

"Quit India" program, 186, 188

Religion, 37-39; in the schools, 100, 226; religious outbreak in Bengal, 192
Rice, staple diet, 31
Ripon, Lord, Indian education, 83ff
Roads, 32f
Roman Catholic groups, institutions managed by, 138
Roman script for Indian languages, 210
Roy, Ram Mohun, educational influence, 52, 57
Rural areas, education in, 162, 167, 171

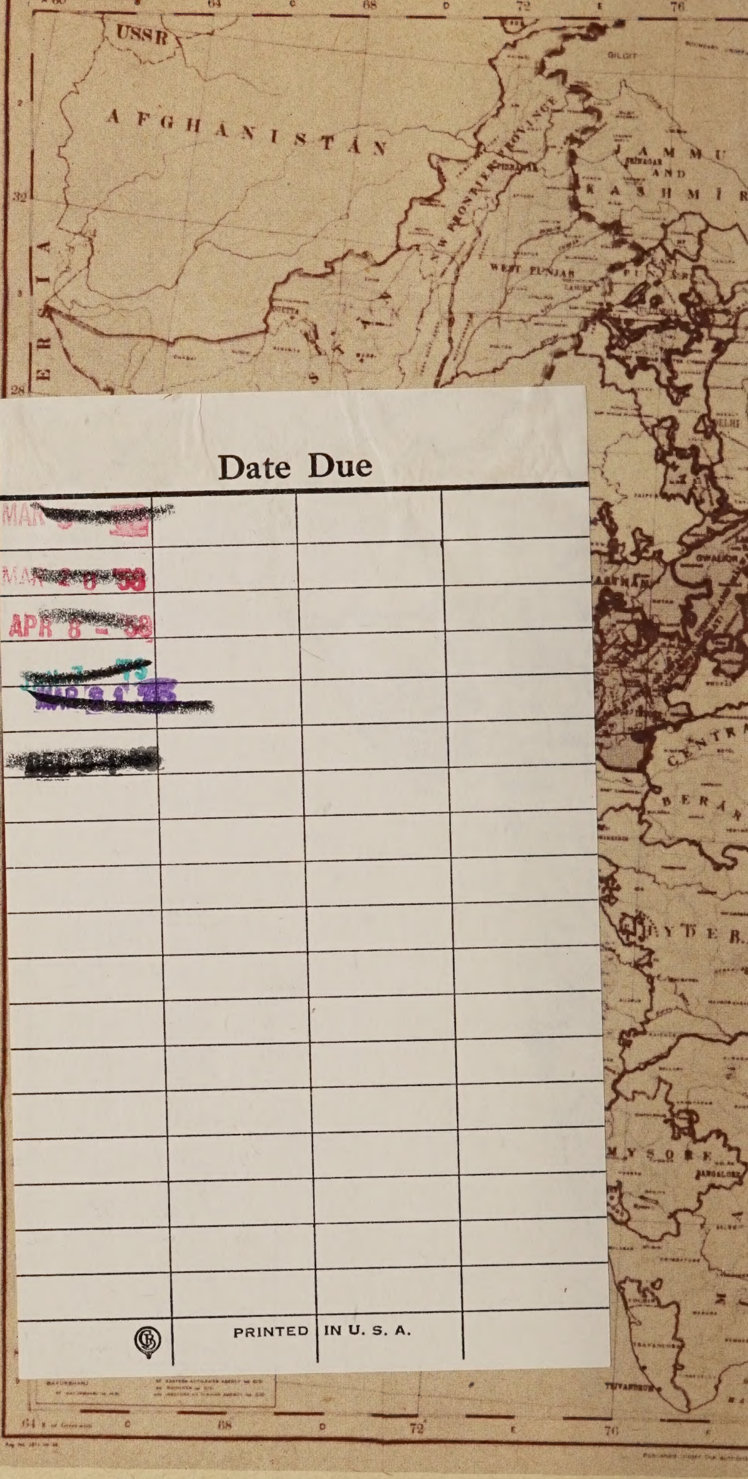
Russo-Japanese War, 113

Sadler, Sir Michael, heads Calcutta University Commission, 141
Santiniketan, experiment in education, 111f
Sarda Act, 163, 218
Sargent, John, education plan, 198, 208, 218, 219, 221
Scheduled Caste Hindus, 181
Scholarships, 81, 82
School Board scheme, local, 125
Schools, during World War II, 196ff; *see also* Education
Secondary education, 89, 90, 117, 130-34, 143, 152, 162, 197, 215
Simon, John, Royal Commission of 1927, 165f, 169
Stagnation, use of term, 161
Stanley, Lord, Despatch of 1859, 69ff; *see also* Despatches of 1854 and 1859
Suffrage, Morley-Minto reforms, 116
Suttee, abolition of, 163
"*Swadeshi* Movement," 114

Tagore, Rabindranath, Santiniketan founded by, 111
Taxes for education, 158
Teachers, early status, 78, 80, 90; teacher training, 129f, 139, 152, 172, 180, 198, 221; use of women, 222
Tea garden schools, 153
Technical education, 172
Testing program, 217
Textbooks, 165, 210
Thomason, James, educational experiment, 63
Tilak, influences educational policy, 127
Training schools, 106; *see also* Teachers
Transportation, 32f
United States, British treatment of India scored, 187
Universities, 152; Commission of 1902, 107; Indian Universities Act of 1904, 109-11; recommendations, 223; University of London followed as pattern, 73; Western education demanded, 119; *see also* Calcutta, University of
Untouchables, 181
Urdu language, 216

Vernacular, utilization of local, 58, 81, 210, 214ff
Vernacular Education Scheme of 1901, 101, 105f, 117
Victoria, Queen, education in India, 68
Visva-Bharati, experiment in education, 111f
Vocational training, 31, 219
Voelcker, Dr., report, 98f

Wardha (Basic Education) Scheme, 174f
Wastage in education, 136, 161, 175
Wavell, Field Marshal, Viceroy of India, 190
West Bengal, education, 198
Women, emancipation of, 163; *see also* Female education
Wood's Despatch, 67, 68; *see also* Despatches of 1854 and 1859
World War I, 126, 135, 146
World War II, education through, 177-99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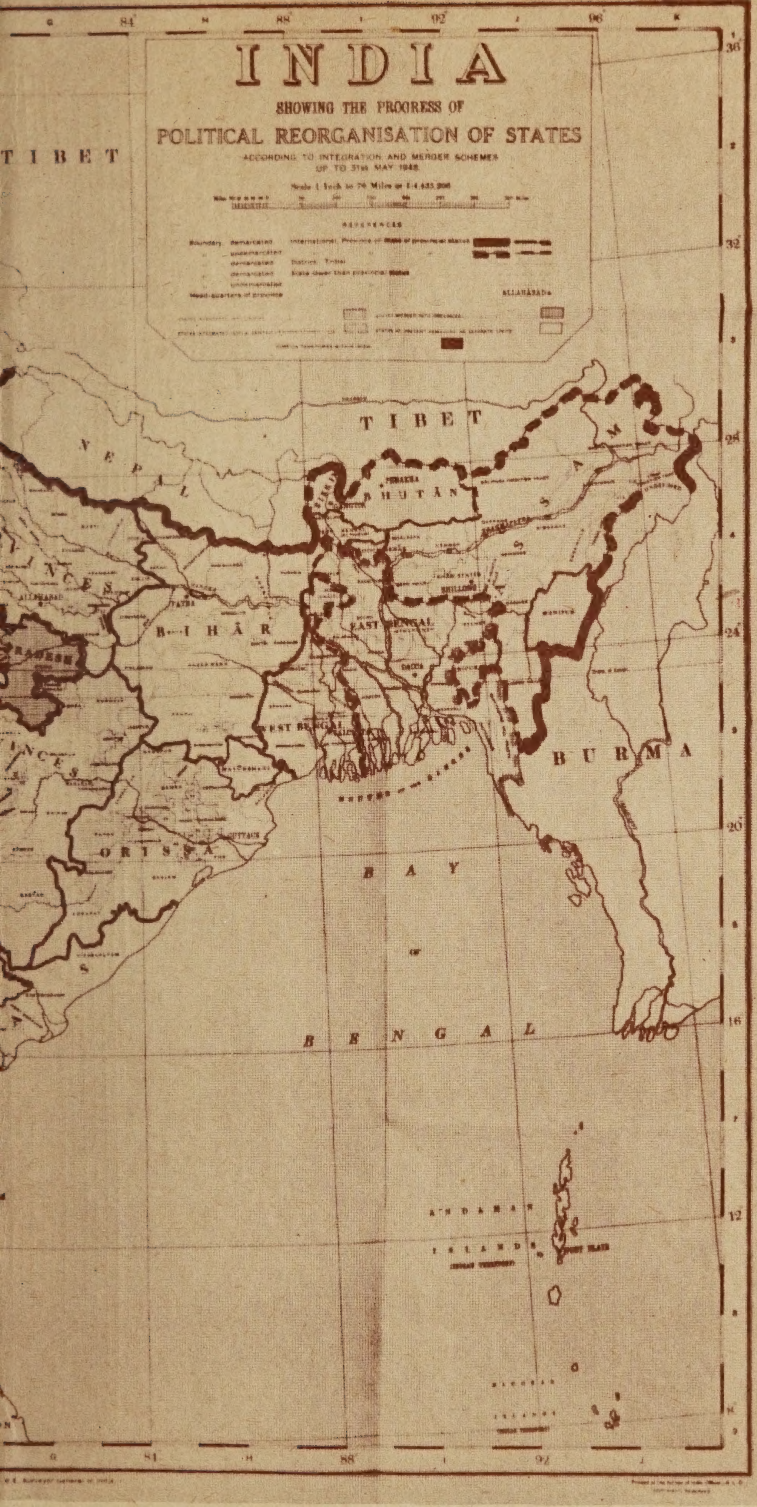
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UP TO 31st MAY 1948
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